

accompanying papers, on reexamination of Sacramento and San Joaquin River system, with a view to construction of a fresh-water canal between Sacramento River and Suisun Bay, requested by resolution of the Committee on Flood Control, House of Representatives, adopted April 13, 1938; to the Committee on Flood Control.

1117. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to grant to the board of trustees, school district No. 20, Charleston County, S. C., a parcel of land situated in the city of Charleston, S. C.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

1118. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to amend section 125 of the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916 (39 Stat. 216), as amended, so as to authorize citizens of foreign countries who are graduates of air corps advanced flying schools and air corps service schools to wear aviation badges; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1119. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to amend the Canal Zone Code in relation to the control of marihuana; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

1120. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill for the relief of B. H. Wilford; to the Committee on Claims.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. PACE: Committee on Agriculture. H. R. 5739. A bill amending the Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act, 1942, so as to provide for agricultural conservation program payments to farmers whose crops have been acquired under the national-defense program; without amendment (Rept. No. 1477). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BEITER: Committee on Labor. H. R. 5638. A bill to amend the Employment Stabilization Act of 1931; without amendment (Rept. No. 1478). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. STEAGALL: Committee on Banking and Currency. H. R. 6182. A bill to amend the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act as amended, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1479). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. RANDOLPH: Committee on the District of Columbia. H. R. 5893. A bill to amend section 5 of the act entitled "An act to establish a Board of Public Welfare in and for the District of Columbia, to determine its functions, and for other purposes," approved March 16, 1926; without amendment (Rept. No. 1480). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. RANDOLPH: Committee on the District of Columbia. H. R. 6163. A bill to prohibit parking of vehicles upon public or private property in the District of Columbia without the consent of the owner of such property; without amendment (Rept. No. 1481). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BROOKS: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 4779. A bill to amend the Pay Readjustment Act of June 10, 1922, so as to equalize the rates of pay of commissioned officers of corresponding grade and length of service; without amendment (Rept. No. 1482). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. FULMER: Committee on Agriculture. H. R. 6120. A bill granting relief to certain agricultural producers in stricken areas who suffered crop failures in 1941 because of ad-

verse weather conditions, insect pests, or other uncontrollable natural causes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1483). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. RANDOLPH: Committee on the District of Columbia. H. R. 5881. A bill to provide full and fair disclosure of the character of charitable, benevolent, patriotic, or other solicitations in the District of Columbia; to provide for regulation and control within the District of Columbia of such solicitations; to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to administer and enforce the provisions of this act; to authorize appropriations therefor; and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1484). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN: Committee on Agriculture. H. R. 4465. A bill to authorize the exchange of certain lands in Minnesota; with amendment (Rept. No. 1485). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. RANDOLPH: Committee on the District of Columbia. H. R. 6004. A bill to require parking facilities for the persons employed in Federal office buildings in the District of Columbia; with amendment (Rept. No. 1486). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. RANDOLPH: Committee on the District of Columbia. House Joint Resolution 248. Joint resolution to direct the Public Utilities Commission to make an investigation and survey to determine the feasibility of the construction of subways in the District of Columbia for both streetcars and vehicular traffic; with amendment (Rept. No. 1487). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. RANDOLPH: Committee on the District of Columbia. H. R. 6003. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act providing for the zoning of the District of Columbia and the regulation of the location, height, bulk, and uses of buildings and other structures and of the uses of land in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved June 20, 1938; without amendment (Rept. No. 1488). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORT OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, report of committees was delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1535. A bill for the relief of the estate of John J. Murray; with amendment (Rept. No. 1476). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. EDMISTON:

H. R. 6181. A bill to extend eligibility for appointments to the West Point and Annapolis Academies to the sons of service-connected World War veterans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. STEAGALL:

H. R. 6182. A bill to amend the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PLOESER:

H. Res. 378. Resolution requesting the President and the Secretary of State to negotiate for the purchase of a part of the Dominion of Canada; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CARTER:

H. R. 6183. A bill for the relief of James Theodore Helm; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas:

H. R. 6184. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. E. P. Ball; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MARCANTONIO:

H. R. 6185. A bill for the relief of Father Michael O'Reilly; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 6186. A bill for the relief of Frederick Rush; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GIFFORD:

H. R. 6187. A bill for the relief of Henry Tachudy and family; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. HULL:

H. R. 6188. A bill for the relief of Robert E. Dennis; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

2123. By Mr. CULKIN: Resolution of the National Grange favoring application of economic devices as best means for holding down inflationary tendencies and opposing arbitrary price fixing unless necessary. If price fixing becomes necessary demands that all groups be included, action be taken to prevent profiteering, standards be provided to assure equity, and that Congress retain control; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

2124. Also, resolution of the Jefferson County Board of Supervisors, approving House bill 5912, for relief of agricultural producers whose crops were reduced by reason of drought or other uncontrollable natural causes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

2125. By Mr. LAMBERTSON: Petition of the Carpenters Local Union, 1445, of the United Brotherhood of C. and J. J. of America, Topeka, Kans., requesting the immediate enactment of a just and adequate old-age pension law; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2126. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the General Welfare Federation, Pasadena, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House bill 1410; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE

MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1941

The Very Reverend Zeb Barney T. Phillips, D. D., Chaplain of the Senate, offered the following prayer:

O Thou blessed Christ, Companion of our days, Mediator of the Infinite God and the Creator of a new world of being which men may know if they follow Thee and in which Thy tender love is ever available to lonely and despairing souls: Help us to find in Thee a sustaining sense of justice which shall become a passion for the amelioration of the wrongs of men, as honor calls us to the defense of every sacred ideal of our beloved country.

Keep us fine and true in our individual and corporate lives, steadfast in purpose that we may endure with patience and calm determination every trial, discipline, and sacrifice through which we

may be called upon to pass, as we meet the exactions of these days out of which must emerge the future destiny of mankind.

Bless Thou the Congress with intuition and courage; strengthen our President with the strength of Thine own indwelling, and comfort him with the knowledge that today the loyalty of every citizen is pledged under his leadership to the service of the Nation as it undertakes its solemn task.

Do Thou have in Thy holy keeping those who have given their lives in the service of our country, and grant that in the new life they may serve Thee with clearer vision and greater joy. Assuage the anguish of those who are thus bereft, be Thou their Comforter and Friend, and bring them to a fuller knowledge of Thy love.

O Christ! Whose voice the waters heard
And hushed their raging at Thy word,
Who walked'st on the foaming deep,
And calm amidst its rage didst sleep,
Oh hear us when we cry to Thee,
For those in peril on the sea!

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, December 4, 1941, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3019) to amend the act entitled "An act to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes," approved October 6, 1917 (40 Stat. 385); asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. SOMERS of New York, Mr. PETERSON of Florida, and Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bill and joint resolution, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 6159. An act making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1942, and June 30, 1943, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 251. Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the United States Military Academy at West Point, Ananta Khittasangka, a citizen of Thailand.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to House Concurrent Resolution 61, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the 8th day of December 1941, at 12:30 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving

such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 1060. An act to extend the 6 months' death gratuity benefits, now paid only to dependents of officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, to dependents of all officers, warrant officers, and enlisted men of the Army of the United States who die in line of duty while in active military service of the United States; and

S. 1826. An act to permit seeing-eye dogs to enter Government buildings when accompanied by their blind masters, and for other purposes.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. HILL. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Gillette	O'Mahoney
Andrews	Glass	Overton
Austin	Green	Pepper
Bailey	Guffey	Radcliffe
Ball	Gurney	Reed
Bankhead	Hatch	Reynolds
Barbour	Herring	Rosier
Barkley	Hill	Russell
Bridges	Hughes	Shipstead
Brooks	Johnson, Calif.	Smathers
Brown	Johnson, Colo.	Smith
Bulow	Kilgore	Stewart
Bunker	La Follette	Taft
Burton	Langer	Thomas, Okla.
Butler	Lee	Thomas, Utah
Byrd	Lodge	Tobey
Chandler	Lucas	Truman
Chavez	McFarland	Tunnell
Clark, Idaho	McKellar	Tydings
Clark, Mo.	McNary	Vandenberg
Connally	Maloney	Van Nuys
Danaher	Maybank	Wagner
Davis	Mead	Walsh
Downey	Murdock	White
Doxey	Murray	Wiley
Ellender	Norris	Willis
George	Nye	
Gerry	O'Daniel	

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE] is absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO], the Senators from Arkansas [Mrs. CARAWAY and Mr. SPENCER], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SCHWARTZ] and the Senator from Washington [Mr. WALLGREN] are detained on official business.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] is necessarily absent.

Mr. McNARY. I desire to make a brief announcement. My colleague the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN] and the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. WALLGREN] are on their way to Washington and will be here this afternoon.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS] is detained at his home by a death in his family.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CAPPER] is on his way to Washington and will arrive later today or early tomorrow.

The Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] is on his way from Puerto Rico to attend the session.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask that the concurrent resolution just received from the House of Representatives be laid before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 61), which was read as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the 8th day of December 1941, at 12:30 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate concur in the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution is concurred in unanimously.

Mr. BARKLEY. I now move that the Senate proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives, in compliance with the concurrent resolution just adopted.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate, escorted by the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms and headed by the Vice President and President pro tempore, proceeded to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

The address delivered by the President of the United States to the joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress held this day is as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, 1 hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

This morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has therefore undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our Nation.

As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounded determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph, so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that, since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, December 8, 1941.

DECLARATION OF STATE OF WAR WITH JAPAN

The Senate having returned to its Chamber (at 12 o'clock and 47 minutes p. m.), it reassembled, and the Vice President resumed the chair.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Doxey	Maloney
Andrews	Ellender	Maybank
Austin	George	Mead
Bailey	Gerry	Murdock
Ball	Gillette	Murray
Bankhead	Glass	Norris
Barbour	Green	Nye
Barkley	Guffey	O'Daniel
Bridges	Gurney	O'Mahoney
Brooks	Hatch	Overton
Brown	Herring	Pepper
Bulow	Hill	Radcliffe
Bunker	Hughes	Reed
Burton	Johnson, Calif.	Reynolds
Butler	Johnson, Colo.	Rosier
Byrd	Kilgore	Russell
Chandler	La Follette	Shipstead
Chavez	Langer	Smathers
Clark, Idaho	Lee	Smith
Clark, Mo.	Lodge	Stewart
Connally	Lucas	Taft
Danaher	McFarland	Thomas, Okla.
Davis	McKellar	Thomas, Utah
Downey	McNary	Tobey

Truman	Van Nuys	Wiley
Tunnell	Wagner	Willis
Tydings	Walsh	
Vandenberg	White	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I introduce a joint resolution, and ask for its immediate consideration without reference to a committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be read.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 116) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same, was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Whereas the Imperial Government of Japan has committed unprovoked acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and the President is hereby authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial Government of Japan; and, to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, on the passage of the resolution I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I desire to comment briefly on the joint resolution.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, those of us on this side of the Chamber are withholding remarks. I was hoping that there would be no comment.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am sure I shall not interfere with what the Senator has in mind.

Mr. CONNALLY. Of course, the Senator has a right to speak if he insists.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I should not want to proceed further without making the record clear.

Mr. President, out of peaceful Sunday skies, without a word of warning—yes; and even screened by the infamous treachery of pretended amity in pacific negotiations at Washington—like an ambushed murderer, Japan has violated our soil, killed our citizens, struck at our possessions, assailed our sovereignty, and disclosed to us the pattern of a purpose which reeks with dishonor and with bloody aspiration.

There can be no shadow of a doubt about America's united and indomitable answer to the cruel and ruthless challenge of this tragic hour—the answer not only of the Congress but also of our people at their threatened hearthstones.

To the enemy we answer—you have unsheathed the sword, and by it you shall die.

To the President of the United States we answer—for the defense of all that is America we salute the colors and we forward march.

Mr. President, I am constrained to make this brief statement on my own account, lest there be any lingering misapprehension in any furtive mind that previous internal disagreements regarding the wisdom of our policies may encourage the despicable hope that we may weaken from within. I have fought every trend which I thought would lead to needless war; but when war comes to us—and particularly when it comes like a thug in the night—I stand with my Commander in Chief for the swiftest and most invincible reply of which our total strength may be capable. It is too late to argue why we face this hazard. The record stands. The historians can settle that conundrum upon another day, when we have finished with this task. For now, it is enough that the attack has come. For now, nothing else will be enough except an answer from 130,000,000 united people that will tell this whole round earth that though America still hates war, America fights when she is violated. And fights until victory is conclusive.

God helping her, she can do no other.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, the issues are so clear and our position was so definitely set forth in the address delivered today by the President of the United States that the Senator from Texas and his associates did not feel that it was necessary to make any address or remarks upon the joint resolution. We are, of course, glad to have the agreement of the Senator from Michigan.

I therefore ask for the yeas and nays on the passage of the joint resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no amendment proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution having been read three times, the question is, Shall it pass? On that question the yeas and nays have been demanded and ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WHITE (when Mr. BREWSTER's name was called). I announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. BREWSTER]. He is flying to Washington at this time. It is a matter of keen regret to him that he was not able to reach here in time to record himself upon this joint resolution. If my colleague were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. McNARY (when Mr. CAPPER's name was called). The senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. CAPPER] is on his way to Washington. On account of public matters, he has been delayed. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. McNARY (when Mr. HOLMAN's name was called). The junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN] is flying to Washington. He has been absent on account of public matters. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. BUNKER (when Mr. McCARRAN's name was called). My colleague [Mr. McCARRAN] is now on his way to Washington. I am advised that if he were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. O'MAHONEY (when Mr. SCHWARTZ's name was called). My colleague [Mr. SCHWARTZ] left Washington last week by direction of the Senate as a member of the committee to attend the funeral of the late senior Senator from Colorado, Mr. Adams. He has been detained in his return to Washington. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. McNARY (when the name of Mr. THOMAS of Idaho was called). The junior Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS] is absent because of a death in his family. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. LUCAS (when Mr. WALLGREN's name was called). I desire to state to the Senate that the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. WALLGREN] is now on his way to Washington by airplane. If he were present, he would vote "yea" on this joint resolution.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HILL. The Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE], who is ill and under the care of a physician, would, if present, vote "yea."

The senior Senator from Arkansas [Mrs. CARAWAY], the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. SPENCER], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], and the Senator from Washington [Mr. WALLGREN] are absent on official business. They are en route to Washington, but have been unable to reach here in time for this vote. If present, they would vote "yea."

The Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] is necessarily absent, but is en route to Washington. If present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. DOXEY. I desire to state that my colleague the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO] is en route to Washington. He has been unavoidably detained. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. McFARLAND. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. HAYDEN], who is in Arizona on official business, attending a hearing of a subcommittee, is now en route to Washington. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 82, nays 0, as follows:

YEAS—82

Aiken	Connally	La Follette
Andrews	Danaher	Langer
Austin	Davis	Lee
Bailey	Downey	Lodge
Ball	Doxey	Lucas
Bankhead	Ellender	McFarland
Barbour	George	McKellar
Barkley	Gerry	McNary
Bridges	Gillette	Maloney
Brooks	Glass	Maybank
Brown	Green	Mead
Bulow	Guffy	Murdock
Bunker	Gurney	Murray
Burton	Hatch	Norris
Butler	Herring	Nye
Byrd	Hill	O'Daniel
Chandler	Hughes	O'Mahoney
Chavez	Johnson, Calif.	Overton
Clark, Idaho	Johnson, Colo.	Pepper
Clark, Mo.	Kilgore	Radcliffe

Reed	Taft	Van Nuys
Reynolds	Thomas, Okla.	Wagner
Rosier	Thomas, Utah	Walsh
Russell	Tobey	White
Shipstead	Truman	Wiley
Smathers	Tunnell	Willis
Smith	Tydings	
Stewart	Vandenberg	

NOT VOTING—13

Bilbo	Hayden	Thomas, Idaho
Bone	Holman	Wallgren
Brewster	McCarran	Wheeler
Capper	Schwartz	
Caraway	Spencer	

So the joint resolution was passed.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following communications and letters, which were referred as indicated:

SUPPLEMENTAL ESTIMATE OF APPROPRIATION, WAR DEPARTMENT (S. Doc. No. 131)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the War Department, fiscal year 1942, amounting to \$2,350,000 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

SUPPLEMENTAL ESTIMATES OF APPROPRIATIONS, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (S. Doc. No. 132)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the District of Columbia, fiscal year 1942, amounting to \$33,860 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

SUPPLEMENTAL ESTIMATE OF APPROPRIATION, NAVY DEPARTMENT AND NAVAL SERVICE (S. Doc. No. 134)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Navy Department and the naval service, fiscal year 1942, amounting to \$33,750,000 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

AIRPLANE ENGINE RESEARCH LABORATORY, CLEVELAND, OHIO (S. Doc. No. 133)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation pertaining to an existing appropriation of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics for construction of an airplane engine research laboratory at Cleveland, Ohio (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

RELIEF OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS IN CONNECTION WITH FORT HALL INDIAN IRRIGATION PROJECT, IDAHO

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of certain individuals in connection with the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Fort Hall Indian irrigation project, Idaho (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

OVERTIME PAY FOR CERTAIN EMPLOYEES OF NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR AERONAUTICS

A letter from the Chairman of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation authorizing overtime pay for certain employees of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate letters from The Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, lists of papers and documents on the files of the Departments of the Treasury

(2), War (4), Navy (3), Agriculture (6), and Commerce; the United States Civil Service Commission (2), the Office of Education and Food and Drug Administration of the Federal Security Agency, the Work Projects Administration (2), and Public Roads Administration of the Federal Works Agency, the United States Board of Tax Appeals, and the Office of Production Management, Executive Office of the President, which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and requesting action looking to their disposition, which, with the accompanying papers, were referred to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

PETITIONS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate by the Vice President and referred as indicated:

A resolution of the Veterans Association of the Seventy-first Regiment, National Guard of the State of New York, of New York City, favoring the enactment of legislation to prohibit strikes affecting all defense projects; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

A resolution of New York City Public Library Employees Union, No. 251, of New York City, favoring a special appropriation for the Immigration and Naturalization Service to enable that service to hire additional personnel to dispose of pending applications for citizenship and to eliminate unnecessary delays; to the Committee on Immigration.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma, from the Committee on Indian Affairs:

S. 1240. A bill designating the fourth Saturday in September of each year as American Indian Day; without amendment (Rept. No. 864).

S. 1412. A bill to amend the act of June 11, 1940 (Public. No. 590, 76th Cong., 3d sess.), providing for the relief of Indians who have paid taxes on allotted land; without amendment (Rept. No. 865).

S. 1927. A bill to reserve certain public lands in California for the benefit of the Manchester Band of Pomo Indians of the Manchester Rancheria; without amendment (Rept. No. 866); and

S. 2011. A bill for the relief of Willard R. Centerwall, formerly superintendent and special disbursing agent at the Tongue River Indian Agency; without amendment (Rept. No. 867).

By Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

H. R. 139. A bill to permit appeals by the United States to the circuit courts of appeals in certain cases; with amendments (Rept. No. 868).

By Mr. RADCLIFFE, from the Committee on Commerce:

H. R. 5074. A bill to provide additional safeguards to the radio communications service of ships of the United States in the interest of national defense, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. No. 882).

By Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs:

S. 1630. A bill to provide for the advancement on the retired list of certain officers of the line of the United States Navy and Marine Corps; with amendments (Rept. No. 881).

S. 1943. A bill to authorize the presentation of a Distinguished Service Cross to

Thomas Orgo; without amendment (Rept. No. 869);

S. 1957. A bill to establish the naval procurement fund, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 870);

S. 1974. A bill for the relief of Francis Howard Robinson; without amendment (Rept. No. 871);

S. 1994. A bill to provide for the prompt settlement of claims for damages occasioned by naval forces in foreign countries; with amendments (Rept. No. 872);

S. 1995. A bill to amend the act approved June 23, 1938, entitled "An act to regulate the distribution, promotion, and retirement of officers of the line of the Navy, and for other purposes;" without amendment (Rept. No. 873);

S. 2028. A bill to amend section 3 (a) of the act entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes," approved June 2, 1939 (53 Stat. 800), so as to transfer the administration of the Naval Supply Depot, Oakland, to the Commandant, Twelfth Naval District; without amendment (Rept. No. 874);

S. 2086. A bill to authorize the employment of nationals of the United States on any public work of the United States in the Territory of Hawaii; without amendment (Rept. No. 875);

S. 2087. A bill to extend the time for examination of monthly accounts covering expenditures by disbursing officers of the United States Marine Corps; without amendment (Rept. No. 876);

S. 2088. A bill to authorize aircraft flight ratings for officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees of the Navy and Marine Corps while engaged in flight operations; without amendment (Rept. No. 877);

S. 2090. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1909, as amended, so as to extend commissary privileges to such other persons as may be specifically authorized by the Secretary of the Navy; without amendment (Rept. No. 878);

H. R. 2799. A bill authorizing the conveyance to the State of Virginia, for highway purposes only, a portion of the Naval Mine Depot Reservation at Yorktown, Va.; without amendment (Rept. No. 879); and

H. R. 3149. A bill providing for the pay and allowances of retired officers of the Navy and Marine Corps on active duty; without amendment (Rept. No. 880).

EXTENSION OF NAVAL ENLISTMENTS

Mr. WALSH. I am authorized by the Committee on Naval Affairs to report an original bill which provides for the extension of enlistments in the Navy in time of war, and for other purposes. I will say that the Navy Department has made a request that this bill be enacted today. It is a bill similar to one that has been considered in the past by the Naval Affairs Committee and a favorable report authorized; but the committee were of the opinion that it would not be necessary to take action until a state of war existed.

Very briefly, it provides for the "freezing" of enlistments in the Navy during the period of the war. If this bill is not enacted, any enlisted man in the Navy whose term expires tomorrow or next week can be discharged from the Navy. This bill would "freeze" in the Navy during the period of the war all enlisted men.

I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be read for the information of the Senate.

The bill (S. 2093) to provide for the extension of enlistments in the Navy in time of war, and for other purposes, was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in time of war all enlistments in the Regular Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, and in the reserve components thereof as applicable, may be extended by the Secretary of the Navy for such additional time as he may deem necessary in the interest of national defense: *Provided*, That all men whose terms of enlistment are extended in accordance with the provisions of this act shall continue during such extensions to be subject in all respects to the laws and regulations for the government of the Navy: *Provided further*, That men detained in service in accordance with this act shall, unless they voluntarily extend their enlistments, be discharged not later than 6 months after the termination of the condition which originally authorized their detention.

SEC. 2. In time of war that portion of section 1422 of the Revised Statutes (18 Stat. 484; 34 U. S. C. 201) which reads as follows: "All persons who shall be so detained beyond their terms of enlistment or who shall, after the termination of their enlistment, voluntarily reenter to serve until the return to an Atlantic or Pacific port of the vessel to which they belong, and their regular discharge therefrom, shall receive for the time during which they are so detained, or shall so serve beyond their original terms of enlistment, an addition to one-fourth of their former pay:," shall be suspended.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. WALSH. I ask unanimous consent that the letter from the Department, which I send to the desk, be printed in the RECORD in connection with the passage of the bill.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY, Washington.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: There is transmitted herewith a draft of a proposed bill "to provide for the extension of enlistments in the Navy in time of war, and for other purposes."

The purpose of the proposed legislation is to permit the Secretary of the Navy, in time of war, to extend the enlistments of all enlisted men in the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard for such additional time as he may deem necessary in the interest of national defense. The men so detained, unless they voluntarily extend their enlistments, are to be discharged not later than 6 months after the termination of the condition which originally authorized their detention.

The proposed legislation would also suspend, in time of war, that portion of section 1422 of the Revised Statutes (18 Stat. 484; 34 U. S. C. 201), which provides for the payment of an additional one-fourth of their pay to men held overtime.

The Navy Department considers that, in view of the existing state of war, it is extremely urgent that all trained personnel of the Navy be retained in service.

The Navy Department strongly recommends enactment of the proposed legislation.

The Navy Department has been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there would be no objection to the submission of this proposal to the Congress.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE—GASOLINE AND FUEL OIL SHORTAGES

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, from the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment Senate Resolution 189, which proposes to enlarge the authority of the special committee to investigate conditions relating to gasoline and fuel-oil shortages, created by Senate Resolution 156, submitted by me, and which was agreed to by the Senate on August 28 last.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be placed on the calendar.

ADMINISTRATION OF PRIORITIES

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, also from the Committee on Commerce, I report back favorably without amendment an amendment heretofore presented and intended to be proposed by me to the resolution (S. Res. 157) creating a special committee to investigate the administration of priorities. This resolution was favorably reported from the Committee on Commerce on August 28 last and, under the rule, was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, where it is now pending.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. VAN NUYS, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Robert Grant, of Illinois, to be United States marshal for the southern district of Illinois, vice Paul E. Ruppel, term expired.

By Mr. HILL, from the Committee on Commerce:

John M. Carmody, of New York, to be a member of the United States Maritime Commission for the unexpired term of 6 years from September 26, 1940, vice John J. Dempsey, resigned.

By Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads:

Several postmasters.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

(Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported original Senate bill 2093, which was passed, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 2094. A bill to provide for the rank and title of the Commandant of the Marine Corps;

S. 2095. A bill to further amend the act approved June 23, 1938 (52 Stat. 944), as amended;

S. 2096. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; and

S. 2097. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to grant to the Board of Trustees, School District No. 20, Charleston County, S. C., a parcel of land situated in the city of Charleston, S. C.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. ANDREWS:

S. 2098. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado:
S. 2099. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Reita M. Lary; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ELLENDER:
S. 2100. A bill relating to the citizenship of Belle Soltz; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. MALONEY:
S. 2101. A bill relating to the war-risk insurance policy of William Daniel June; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 2102. A bill for the relief of William Daniel June; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:
S. 2103. A bill to amend section 125 of the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916 (39 Stat. 216), as amended, so as to authorize citizens of foreign countries who are graduates of Air Corps advanced flying schools and Air Corps service schools to wear aviation badges; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

(Mr. CONNALLY introduced Senate Joint Resolution 116, declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same; which was passed, and appears under a separate heading.)

HOUSE BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The following bill and joint resolution were each read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H. R. 6159. An act making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1942, and June 30, 1943, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

H. J. Res. 251. Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the United States Military Academy, at West Point, Ananta Khittasangka, a citizen of Thailand; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SUGAR QUOTAS—AMENDMENTS

Mr. MURRAY submitted amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 5988) to amend the Sugar Act of 1937, as amended, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

IMPROVEMENTS IN SENATE CHAMBER AND OFFICE BUILDING—EXTENSION OF TIME FOR SUBMITTING REPORT

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I submit a resolution, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 201) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the time for submitting the report of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds with respect to the results of the study required to be made by Senate Resolution No. 150, relating to the acoustics, redecorating, and for better lighting of the Senate Chamber and the Senate Office Building, agreed to on September 8, 1941, is hereby extended to February 8, 1942.

OLD COAST GUARD STATION BUILDING AT TWO RIVERS, WIS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1916) to authorize the conveyance of the old Coast Guard station building at Two Rivers, Wis., to the Eleven Gold Star Post, No. 1284, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Two

Rivers, Wis., which was, in line 3, to strike out "Treasury" and insert "Navy."

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I submit a concurrent resolution providing for clarifying changes in the bill just acted upon, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 20) was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of the Senate, in the enrollment of the bill (S. 1916) to authorize the conveyance of the old Coast Guard station building at Two Rivers, Wis., to the Eleven Gold Star Post, No. 1284, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Two Rivers, Wis., is authorized and directed to make the following changes:

(1) In line 5 of the engrossed bill, strike out the numerals "1284" and insert in lieu thereof the numerals "1248"; and

(2) In the title of the engrossed bill, strike out the numerals "1284" and insert in lieu thereof the numerals "1248."

MANUFACTURE, DISTRIBUTION, USE, AND POSSESSION OF EXPLOSIVES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3019) to amend the act entitled "An act to prohibit the manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession in time of war of explosives, providing regulations for the safe manufacture, distribution, storage, use, and possession of the same, and for other purposes," approved October 6, 1917 (40 Stat. 385), and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. GUFFEY. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, agree to the request of the House for a conference, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. GUFFEY, Mr. SCHWARTZ, Mr. KILGORE, Mr. DAVIS, and Mr. TAFT conferees on the part of the Senate.

MEDICAL CARE AND HOSPITALIZATION OF CERTAIN VETERANS

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 19) submitted by Mr. REYNOLDS on December 4, 1941, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed, in the enrollment of the bill (S. 165) to provide for continuing in the service of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard of the United States beyond the term of their enlistment those suffering from service-connected disease or injury and in need of medical care or hospitalization until recovery through such medical care and hospitalization, to make the following correction, namely: On page 2, line 12, of the engrossed bill strike out the word "therein" and in lieu thereof insert the word "herein."

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I do not quite understand the purpose of the concurrent resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It merely proposes to correct an error in the enrollment of a bill. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

RADIO OPERATORS ON MERCHANT MARINE SHIPS

Mr. RADCLIFFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of House bill 5074, which I reported a few minutes ago, with an amendment. It is an extremely important measure, and it is very desirable that it be acted on at once.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the title of the bill for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (H. R. 5074) to provide additional safeguards to the radio communications service of ships of the United States in the interest of national defense, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I have no objection to the present consideration of the bill. In fact, as a member of the committee, I supported the proposal, but I think a statement about the bill should be made by the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. RADCLIFFE. Mr. President, this bill has to do with radio operators on merchant-marine ships. It is highly desirable at this time that every safeguard should be taken to see to it that the men who serve in such capacities on our ships shall be fitted, both by ability and by loyalty, to serve in such important capacities.

It is undoubtedly true that the opportunities afforded radio operators and the importance of their duties have developed faster than the legislation on the subject has progressed. This bill attempts to remedy that situation. There is no doubt of the fact that a radio operator on a merchant-marine ship today has opportunities not only for usefulness but also for doing very serious damage.

The bill which was passed by the House provided that radio operators might be suspended by the Federal Communications Commission for certain stated reasons. The Senate Commerce Committee have reported an amendment which strikes out all after the enacting clause of the House bill and provides that no one shall serve as a radio operator upon any merchant-marine ship if his appointment is disapproved by the Secretary of the Navy. The bill as amended would leave the control and regulation generally of radio operators in the hands of the Federal Communications Commission as is the case today. However, it would permit the Secretary of the Navy to prevent any radio operator from serving on any specified trip, route, or in any specified area.

It is imperative, I think, that the Secretary of the Navy should have such power. The Navy is charged with the duty of making the seas safe, and certainly in that connection the radio operators in merchant-marine ships occupy

positions of great responsibility. We think that from the standpoint of the Government the amendment we have suggested is better than the text of the the House bill and that it is otherwise more efficient. It is more expeditious. We think it is also fairer and better generally from the standpoint of the radio operators.

I hope the Senate will consider and pass the bill immediately.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce, with an amendment.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator from Maryland a question. Does the Senator believe that this bill will effectively deal with the "fifth columnists" who are now radio operators on the merchant-marine ships of this country?

Mr. RADCLIFFE. Mr. President, the bill provides the best method we can suggest for dealing with such matters. It would permit the Secretary of the Navy, when he believed that a radio operator was not the one best fitted for a specified trip, route, or area, or whatever his reason might be, to prevent him from serving on that ship.

Mr. BRIDGES. Would the Secretary have to give his reasons?

Mr. RADCLIFFE. No; the bill would give the Secretary of the Navy the arbitrary right to decide whether a radio operator shall or shall not make a certain trip, or work on a certain route, in some specified area.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment reported by the committee will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to strike out all after the enacting clause, and to insert:

That during the national emergency declared by the President on May 27, 1941, to exist, but not after July 1, 1943, or the date upon which the President proclaims the existing national-defense emergency terminated, whichever occurs first, for the purpose of strengthening the national defense by providing additional safeguards, it shall be unlawful to employ any person or to permit any person to serve as radio operator aboard any vessel (other than a vessel of foreign registry) if the Secretary of the Navy

(1) has disapproved such employment for any specified voyage, route, or area of operation, and

(2) has notified the master of the vessel of such disapproval prior to the departure thereof.

No such vessel shall be granted clearance, depart, or attempt to depart from any port or place in the United States, its territories or possessions, or the Canal Zone, while having on board a person serving as radio operator in violation of this act. For any violation of this act, the master and the owner shall be severally subject to a penalty of not more than \$1,000 for which penalties the vessel shall be liable. Such penalties on application may be mitigated or remitted by the Secretary of Commerce.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Maryland another question. Does he

think the penalty of a thousand-dollar fine is sufficient? If a man were a "fifth columnist" and intent on sabotaging or blowing up a ship, a \$1,000 fine would not make much difference, would it? I think the penalty should be very much heavier.

Mr. RADCLIFFE. The penalty is upon the ship and not upon the individual.

Mr. BRIDGES. I mean there should be a penalty of such a nature as to be more effective.

Mr. RADCLIFFE. Probably the fact that a penalty is provided would be sufficient, irrespective of the amount named.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, if there is to be any penalty under this measure, it ought to be under the Secretary of the Navy, because he may do anything he pleases.

Mr. BRIDGES. The penalty would be on the owner or operator of the ship for failing to carry out the order, as I understand.

Mr. RADCLIFFE. Yes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendment, ask for a conference with the House thereon, and that the conferees on the part of the Senate be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. RADCLIFFE, Mr. BAILEY, and Mr. JOHNSON of California conferees on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY ON JAPANESE SITUATION

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a statement issued by me today.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

America has been attacked in a dastardly manner and war declared on her by Japan. This is undoubtedly pursuant to the tripartite agreement between the Axis powers, Germany, Japan, and Italy.

We as a people did not want war; it has been brought to us. Now we will take care of the job. There is no division in our ranks now. The criminal attack on Hawaii and Guam and elsewhere has made America one. We have but one purpose, and that is to win the war and preserve our American way of life. Let us now have:

(a) Less loose talk and more action but no underestimation of Japan's strength.

(b) More defense production and more for our money.

(c) Extension of the workday for everyone. This is no time for hysteria or complacency; no time for life as usual.

(d) No grafters or racketeers should be permitted now in Government or in industry. Japan asked for it. We will, with God's help, carry through to victory.

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON JAPANESE ATTACK

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the

body of the RECORD editorials from a number of newspapers dealing with the treacherous attack by Japan upon this country.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of December 8, 1941]

TO A VICTORIOUS END

In this solemn hour the first thought of every American will be of his country, "the drumming guns that have no doubts" have spoken. That union in face of peril, which was grievously lacking, is at hand. How to cooperate, what one can do to aid the flag that protects us all, becomes the instinctive thought of every citizen.

The attack itself, an act of naked aggression committed while Japanese envoys were actually in discussion with our State Department, and the President's message lay before the Emperor, came as a dismaying shock. Because Americans could not themselves take such action, it is difficult for them to conceive of the mind which instinctively acts without thought of law or honor. But if the manner of the aggression was a surprise, the fact that this Nation at last finds itself at grips with Japan will hold no corresponding astonishment. The course of Japanese militarism, seeking conquest in defiance of every legal and moral obligation, could not fail, if continued, to clash with this Nation's essential rights in the Pacific area. It had been the hope of Americans that the liberal elements among the Japanese people might be able to restrain these reckless aggressors. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull deserve all praise for their patient efforts to support these elements and preserve the peace. Since the clash now appears to have been inevitable, its occurrence brings with it a sense of relief. The air is clearer. Americans can get down to their task with old controversies forgotten.

That task is plainly not confined to the Pacific. If the ambitions of the Tokyo militarists brought the issues of the Pacific to a bloody climax, they did so in the closest cooperation with their allies, the militarists of Berlin. But one war is being fought in the world today, and in the most accurate sense, Hitler is the master of the totalitarian group. Whether we should now declare war upon Germany as well as Japan is a matter of practical diplomacy. The fact is that the craters sunk at Honolulu by Japanese planes have brought to American soil the same war that has killed its thousands in Europe and enslaved so many of the free nations of the world.

The battle is on. It cannot stop in the Pacific until Japanese militarism has been ended for all time. It cannot stop in Europe until the power for evil of Nazi militarists has been equally destroyed and their captives freed. If the maneuver of the Japanese attack was designed with any thought that its surprise would distract this Nation from its part in the world scene—in the Atlantic, in Europe, in Africa—the sooner the minds that so underestimated American intelligence are disabused of this notion the better. We know that we state no more than the simple truth when we declare that this war against our enemies—wherever they may be—will be fought to a victorious end with the last energy, the last resource, and the last ounce of determination of every American man and woman.

[From the New York Times of December 8, 1941]

WAR WITH JAPAN

There is only one possible answer to Japan's attack. That answer is an immediate declaration of war by the United States against Japan. This is so clear and so inescapable that Congress can be relied upon to act with

all possible speed and to give its answer with that unanimity which will speak for a united Nation.

We do not need at this stage to consider the reasons for the timing of this almost incredible assault upon the outposts of our defense by a nation whose emissaries in Washington were still expressing friendship for our people. Whether Japan has yielded at last to pressure from Hitler, who has obviously wished for many months to deflect American power from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or whether this is primarily and essentially an independent Japanese adventure, launched by a military clique in Tokyo whose powers of self-deception now rise to a state of sublime insanity, we cannot know until events have given more perspective. It is possible that the second hypothesis is the more credible one—since Hitler, much as he may wish to direct our attention to the Pacific, can scarcely desire at this time the open and formal entrance of the United States into a war which will certainly and automatically find us openly and formally at war with Germany as well before that war is finished. These are conjectures of great interest and importance. But they do not count in the face of explosive facts. The only thing that matters now is that a deliberate attempt has been made by an enemy power to destroy the defenses of America.

To that attempt we will reply. We will reply with our full force, without panic and without losing sight of our objectives. We will make war upon Japan and we will put an end to these interminable and unbearable threats of Japanese aggression. But in making war upon Japan we will not overestimate the ability of Japan to do us harm; we will not mistake the lesser danger for the greater danger, and we will not forget that Hitler, and not Tokyo, is the greatest threat to our security. The real battle of our times will not be fought in the Far East. It will be fought on the English Channel. We can count on our Government to recognize this fact. We can count on it to plan a strategy of war which takes account of the imperative necessity of maintaining an uninterrupted flow of strength to the main battle front in Europe. If Hitler is smashed, the situation in the Far East will take care of itself automatically. But if Hitler wins in Europe, we shall be in deadly danger, even if we have crushed Japan. We must so dispose of our own great strength that we can use it on two fronts to best advantage.

Whatever the military and naval strategy which we employ, we now go into battle in response to crystal-clear aggression and in defense of no far-away ideal, but of our own United States. In this crisis we must have unanimity, sacrifice, and American patriotism at its best. It is proper and necessary now to appeal particularly to those individuals who have opposed the President's foreign policies and to those organized groups which have fought at every step the recommendations he has made.

The Japanese attacks yesterday at Hawaii, at Guam, on American ships within a few days' steaming distance of our own Pacific coast have blown away with the force of a hurricane the whole structure of myth upon which opposition to the President's policies has been based—the myth that we were "not in danger"; the myth that it was "fantastic" even to imagine a direct attack on the defenses of the United States; the myth that the President has been "trying to drag us into war," instead of trying—as must now be so abundantly clear, even to the last skeptic—to find dependable allies for us in an hour of great need and to strengthen those allies for the test of strength that lay ahead. We do not impugn—we have never impugned—the patriotism of those who have held these beliefs, and asserted them so freely and so confidently. But we have questioned the wisdom of a judgment which they them-

selves must now revise in the face of accomplished fact. We know them to be good patriots and good Americans. When we appeal to them now for instant support of the President, we do not for a moment doubt that the appeal will be successful.

The time has come to forget pride of judgment, throw partisanship to the winds, and rally to the flag of the United States. Let us close our ranks without a moment's loss of time. Let us act at once to conserve that national unity which is our richest heritage. Let us bury every selfish interest in devotion to the national will. Let us be done with every influence and every circumstance which would impede American production and delay the full flow of our incomparable strength into this struggle to survive.

The United States has been attacked. The United States is in danger. Let every patriot take his stand on the bastions of democracy. We go into battle in defense of our own land, of our present and our future, of all that we are and all that we still hope to be, of a way of life which we have made for ourselves on free and independent soil, the only way of life which we believe to be worth living.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer of December 8, 1941]

WAR: LET JAPAN HAVE IT!

Japan has unloosed war upon the United States with a blind fury and a reckless disregard of consequences that stagger the imagination.

The sea and air attacks against American possessions in the Pacific, followed by a formal declaration of hostilities by the Japanese Government, have destroyed at one blow the hopes and prayers of the people of this country that such a catastrophe would not befall.

The United States didn't want this war. The heads of our Government were striving, even at the moment the Japanese touched off the explosion, to work out a formula for peace and stability in the Pacific and the Far East.

But to no avail. The Army jingoes in power in Tokyo threw reason to the winds and went berserk in an insane adventure that for fatalistic abandon is unsurpassed in the history of the world.

In one day of superlative madness Hitler's partner in the Orient, for purposes best known to the war lords in Tokyo and the inner council of the murderous Axis in Berlin, challenged the war power not only of the United States but of Great Britain.

Japan has attacked our naval bases. She has killed and wounded our service men. She has struck at our ships. Unprovoked by any act of ours, she has given an imitation of a Nazi blitz copied after the methods of that master of slaughter and destruction, Adolf Hitler.

Do the war-mad officials of the Japanese Government honestly believe they can get away with a crime like this? Or are they intent upon committing national hara-kiri?

Although Ambassador Nomura and special envoy Saburo Kurusu have appeared to be honestly trying to reach a settlement basis at the Washington conferences, the attitude of the Tokyo war makers in all matters touching Far East problems has been one of duplicity and mendacity.

With two-faced smugness Tokyo officials have played the United States for what they could get out of us. They have twisted facts out of all semblance of reality. They have lied about the barbaric war which for more than 4 years they have been waging against China. They have lied about their imperialistic designs on Indo-China and Thailand.

To what end? To the end that when the President of the United States went over their heads and appealed personally to the Japanese Emperor for aid toward a peaceful settlement, the fanatic Tokyo jingoes struck at America

before the Emperor could reply to the President. It's doubtful whether the mild "Son of Heaven" was even permitted to read Mr. Roosevelt's message.

The whole history of the negotiations, and now the ruthless attack upon outposts of the United States, testify to the criminal disregard by the Japanese Government of the first principles of international honor and integrity.

Let it be remembered, now and henceforth, that the United States shut down on exports of oil, gasoline, and other war needs to Japan not to cripple Japan's legitimate enterprises but to stop the growth of a Japanese war machine that eventually, it was readily conceivable, would be used against us. Japan has been under no threat from America, even though Tokyo's policy of aggression was contrary to our interests in the Pacific and endangered our access to vital defense materials in the Dutch Indies.

Here, then, is a war the United States didn't want, didn't provoke; a war the United States with every reasonable, patient effort tried to avert.

It is a war the Far East partner of Hitler wantonly hurled upon us.

In this solemn hour, with its portents of grave events not only in the Pacific but in the Atlantic, there can be no question of the unity of the American people. All personal issues, all partisan issues, all regional issues today must give place to one indomitable purpose: Decisive victory over Japan for the protection and welfare of all that Americans hold dear.

This is no time for doubting, for fearing, for hesitating. It is the hour for war to the limit. From ocean to ocean and border to border, and in all our outlying possessions, it is the hour for unity, faith, and unyielding determination.

It is the hour, in short, when all Americans must stand solidly behind the President. He is the Nation's head. He is the leader, the symbol of our representative Government and of our way of life. To him in this crisis the Nation owes undivided loyalty.

We shall not falter now. Our great Navy and air force are on the line of battle. Japan has cast the die. Japan has invited just retribution. Japan has asked for it—

Let Japan have it.

[From the Baltimore Sun of December 8, 1941]

WE SHALL WIN

Japan's declaration, following by a few hours her sudden attack on Hawaii, puts the United States into this second and most terrible war of the nations.

Like most of the attacks planned by the Axis partners, this one, too, was sprung after deceitful discussions and maneuvers. It was begun by Japan on the day after the United States Government, through President Roosevelt, made a friendly and respectful appeal to the Japanese Emperor for a peaceful settlement of the issues in dispute. News of it came at the very moment when Secretary Hull was receiving Japan's two envoys, pretending still that they were representing a friendly power.

Thus the United States enters the conflict with its record clear. It has stood from the beginning for a series of principles without the observance of which a peaceful and progressive comity of the nations is impossible. These principles the Japanese, like the Nazis and the Fascists before them, have called "obsolete." The world they envisage and the world they are slaughtering millions to achieve is a world divided among the strong and ruthless nations, with the weaker and the honorable as their slaves.

That world is not for the people of the United States. We cannot and will not submit to the destruction of international honor, the levying of tribute on the weak by the

strong, the parceling out of the world and its resources among the self-appointed dictators of human affairs. Since force is to be the determining factor, we resort to force.

The United States is today the strongest nation in the world. It has the greatest fleet. It has an air force already powerful beyond our hopes, and it has an industrial potential able to multiply many times and in short order its present striking power. It has a people proud of their heritage and conscious of their might. It knows the meaning of freedom and the cost of maintaining freedom.

Therefore we enter the conflict, which has thus been brought to us, with no sense of fear and no forebodings. We know we shall have to pay a high price for our freedom, but we also know that we shall be able to account for Japan in the Pacific and at the same time continue to give the fullest aid to Britain and the other nations now beating back Hitler and his allies in Europe.

We have the right on our side. We have our unmeasured force. We shall win.

[From the Washington News of December 8, 1941]

UNITY

"Till, dazed by many doubts, he wakes
The drumming guns that have no doubts."
Kipling wrote that back in 1894 of An American and the American Spirit.

America has been attacked. The drumming guns are sounding. And many problems have been solved on a Sabbath day. Chief of these is the problem of national unity. We will have that unity—from here in.

America now turns, as Kipling said, "a keen, untroubled face home, to the instant need of things."

IN WAR

It came, not by attack from Europe, as so many feared, but in the Pacific, which most Americans believed impossible.

Japan has attacked us without cause. The United States was still pleading for peace, still offering Japan honorable friendship, when she struck without warning.

The bombing of Hawaii, the torpedoing of ships on this side of the Pacific, were not acts of irresponsible commanders or even the result of some sudden decision by the Tokyo government. The orders must have been issued and confirmed by the Mikado, many days ago to permit the aircraft carriers and submarines to reach these battle stations so many thousands of miles away.

Thus the treachery was complete. It was premeditated. It was carried out while the United States Government, in patience and good faith, listened to long professions of friendship masking her plans for surprise attack.

So be it.

The Japanese found us slow to wrath. They will yet find us mighty in wrath. They found us unwilling to strike the first blow. They will yet find us striking the last blow.

They have played us for suckers. So we have seemed to them—for did we not supply them with the steel, oil, and other war materials to fight us?

Yes, we paid that price for peace. And we lost. But in the losing, we gained something which Japan lacks—something essential to give a peaceful and democratic people the will to fight and the will to win. That essential is clear proof to Americans that their Nation is not the aggressor but the defender.

Japan has provided that proof. The attack on Hawaii united America in a common horror and in a common resolve—a unity as grim and complete as if Japan had struck individually at 130,000,000 Americans.

She has thereby eliminated our chief dangers—indifference and division. Whatever the initial military and naval gains from her betrayal, they are insignificant beside the

defense spirit and untapped power which she has heedlessly provoked.

As this newspaper for many months has called for concentration on Pacific defense, for all-out preparedness, for an end of strikes as usual, business as usual, luxury as usual, so today we repeat those now too obvious necessities.

The losses suffered in the Battle of Hawaii will not have been in vain if they turn Americans from fears of Atlantic invasion in some distant future to the Pacific reality ignored so long. At last we may stop underestimating the Japanese. Hitler is attacking, indeed; but through the Japanese, as he has so long tried to do.

We must fight with everything we have. It will not be easy. But the greater our concentration and the greater our sacrifice, the sooner the victory.

America salutes the President, who fought so nobly for Pacific peace, and who now leads us in the just cause of self-defense. America salutes the armed forces, who have never lost a war.

[From the Los Angeles Times of December 8, 1941]

ACT OF A MAD DOG

Japan has asked for it. Now she is going to get it. It was the act of a mad dog, a gangster's parody of every principle of international honor.

The attack on Honolulu by short-range bombers proves past dispute that it had been days if not weeks in deliberate preparation. The "peace negotiations" were mere play acting to throw us off our guard.

The one respect in which Tokyo's "coup" differs from those of Hitler is that she has attacked no weak and defenseless nation. Instead, she has invited her own destruction by the swiftest and most ruthless means by which it can be encompassed.

[From the San Francisco Chronicle of December 8, 1941]

CALL TO UNITE FOR VICTORY

By the act of Japan, America is at war. The time for debate has passed and the time for action has come. That action must be united and unanimous. Politics is adjourned, whether between parties, factions, or economic groups. From now on America is an army with every man, woman, and child a soldier in it, all joined to the one end of victory.

If war had to come, it is perhaps well that it came this way, wanton, unwarned, in fraud and bad faith, virtually under a flag of truce. For a war there can be only one side in action, and now there is only one side in thought or feeling. Its slogan is "Americans Unite for Victory and Freedom!"

We cannot know how long this war will last, how wide it will range, nor what it will cost us in toil and sacrifices and in treasure. We do know that whatever the cost, we will play it, and that our reward will be to hand down to our children the free America which our fathers bequeathed to us.

Americans, unite!

[From the Chicago Tribune of December 8, 1941]

TO STRIKE WITH ALL MIGHT

War has been forced on America by an insane clique of Japanese militarists who apparently see the desperate conflict into which they have led their country as the only thing that can prolong their power.

Thus the thing that we all feared, that so many of us have worked with all our hearts to avert, has happened. That is all that counts. It has happened. America faces war through no volition of any American.

Recriminations are useless and we doubt that they will be indulged in, certainly not

by us. All that matters today is that we are in the war and the Nation must face that simple fact. All of us, from this day forth, have but one task. That is to strike with all our might to protect and preserve the American freedom that we all hold dear.

[From the Chicago Sun of December 8, 1941]

SAYS BUT ONE CAN SURVIVE

It is war now, grim and to the death.

War to the death of Japanese and German militarism or to the death of the United States of America.

All that President Roosevelt foresaw and feared and worked against, all that lesser men refused to fear because they could not see, has come to pass. The thing of evil that is abroad in the world has coiled its ugly body and struck.

As Hitler struck at Europe, Japan has struck at America, cloaking words of peace in deeds of war and treachery.

Let no American think that this is a one-ocean war, a one-handed war or a war with one nation only.

We have been struck by the Weltschlange, the world serpent, its head in Germany, and its tail in Japan.

It was Hitler who brought this war upon us, luring the Japanese with promises of aid and loot, filling their ears with tales of American weakness today and strength tomorrow.

The Nation is one, or it is nothing. That means it is one, with a single will and purpose, a single heartbeat.

COMMENTS BY CHICAGO NEWSPAPERS ON JAPANESE SITUATION

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to incorporate in the body of the RECORD an editorial from the Chicago Tribune, an editorial from the Chicago Herald-American, a column entitled "In the News," from the Chicago Herald-American, two editorials from the Chicago Sun, an editorial from the Chicago Times, and an editorial from the Chicago Daily News, all dealing with the Japanese situation.

I am very happy to state that these great metropolitan newspapers of the city of Chicago are in accord 100 percent with the resolution passed by the Congress of the United States today.

It is well to note also that the Chicago Tribune once again has placed at the masthead of its editorial page the famous phrase of Stephen Decatur, "Our country! May she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune of December 8, 1941]

WE ALL HAVE BUT ONE TASK

War has been forced on America by an insane clique of Japanese militarists who apparently see the desperate conflict into which they have led their country as the only thing that can prolong their power.

Thus the thing that we all feared, that so many of us have worked with all our hearts to avert, has happened. That is all that counts. It has happened. America faces war through no volition of any American.

Recriminations are useless, and we doubt that they will be indulged in. Certainly not by us. All that matters today is that we are in the war, and the Nation must face that simple fact. All of us, from this day forth, have but one task. That is to strike with all our might to protect and preserve the American freedom that we all hold dear.

[From the Chicago Herald-American of December 8, 1941]

The United States is at war with Japan, and will conduct the war with every resource at its command and with the grim determination and unswerving loyalty of the American people.

This conflict is, of course, undesired and unwelcome.

But it is accepted with complete confidence in ultimate victory. And it is entered with complete national unity. Japan has provoked this war unjustly and unconscionably.

The Japanese armed forces have attacked American Territory and cities, American military and naval bases, and have destroyed substantial American properties and killed and maimed an undetermined number of American citizens.

Japan must learn and will soon learn that wrath and might of America are as formidable as the patience of America has been deep and prolonged.

We have amply demonstrated our peaceful intentions and aspirations.

Now we will demonstrate capacities for war which this world has not yet seen and cannot match.

It has always been an axiom in history that a peaceful people provoked to righteous war makes the most fearsome adversary.

That is the position in which Japan will find, to its regret, that it has placed the United States and the peaceful American people.

If the Japanese Government has deluded itself that we are divided and afraid of war, it has deceived itself grievously and gruesomely.

Perhaps Japan has mistaken the processes and practices of American democracy, which have given freedom of opinion and expression to our people and their leaders for a fundamental and irreparable division.

If so, Japan does not know America.

We are in this war, and we will win it.

Not just part of us, but all of us, are in the war.

There is no holding back from whatever service and sacrifice is required to win it.

There is no longer any debate on the wisdom or necessity of our present course, for the very simple reason that it is our forward-looking, purposeful, and unrelenting American course.

There is no further discussion of how we got into this war, but realistic, complete, and patriotic acceptance of the fact that we are in it.

There is only one kind of American now—the kind who is willing and glad and without equivocation or reservation in his steadfast and dutiful support of his country, his President, and his Government.

There is only one spirit in America now—the traditional and historic American spirit, which makes ordeals and tribulations the very source of the strength with which we defend and perpetuate the rights and liberties of our people.

There is only one goal for America now—the winning of a war we did not want and did not provoke, but that will find our inexhaustible wealth of manpower, materials, production, and labor solidly supporting the armed forces of the Nation.

There must be and is an end now of all domestic issues and differences, of politics and economics and all else, until the war is over and won.

We are all Americans now, united and strong and invincible.

We have a common and just American cause to serve and support.

Let all Americans have one purpose—the successful conclusion of this unwanted war as soon as possible, and the restoration of the peace we desire, and the resumption of our orderly, democratic way of life.

Let all Americans be Americans in every thought and act, in the high spirit of their fathers, and with faith in the destiny of their beloved country and its cherished flag.

[From the Chicago Herald-American of December 8, 1941]

Well, fellow Americans, we are in the war and we have got to win it.

There may have been some difference of opinion among good Americans about getting into the war, but there is no difference about how we should come out of it.

We must come out victorious and with the largest V in the alphabet.

We are not completely prepared for war.

We have not got a Swiss system of universal service that we will have to have some day, since the lands are full of robbers and seas of pirates.

But we will get better and stronger every day, and we will not have to get very good and very strong to knock the everlasting daylight out of Japan.

We may have some small reverses at first, but do not let that worry you—if it happens.

It is not who wins the first round but who wins the last one that counts for victory.

And there is no doubt about the victory, folks—none whatever.

The worst thing about the war with Japan is that it will divide our efforts and prevent us from rendering the all-out aid to England that we were doing and planning further to do.

But we will still manage to keep Britain going with our right hand while we poke Japan in the nose with our left.

Japan has been wanting war for a long time.

It has been swaggering around Asia, murdering a lot of unarmed Chinamen.

Now it is going to get a war, and a real one.

Fortunately, we are well on our way toward a dominating and determining two-ocean Navy and an all-skies airplane fleet.

Fortunately, we can manufacture 10 ships to Japan's 1, and 10 airplanes to Japan's 1.

Naturally we can fly the planes better and fight the ships better.

And that means that as soon as we swing into action we will wash up the war.

Japan's attack on Hawaii is probably with the idea of keeping us on defense at home.

But we will not stay at home and we will not stay on defense.

Before the war is over we will have burned up all the paper houses in Japan and sunk most of their scrap-iron battleships and put this bunch of oriental marauders back on the right little, tight little, out-of-sight little island where they belong.

And we will have fenced them in there.

Then maybe we will let them have a little oil—coal oil or castor oil, we cannot tell which yet.

Our main concern now is about England.

This attack by Japan upon us is largely to create a diversion.

We must not be diverted any more than is necessary for our own protection.

The war is our war now—not only in Asia but in Europe.

We have got to win in both arenas.

The European war, to be frank and factual, is not going to be so easy, but we can win it and will.

We will do our best to help England now, and after we have washed up Japan we can concentrate on Europe and straighten things out there.

The politicians have had the war all to themselves for a long time.

It has been a wordy war—a windy war.

Now it is going to be a fighting war.

The American people are going to take hold.

The politicians proposed the war, and the American people are going to dispose of it.

There is going to be a new order in Europe and a new order in Asia all right, all right.

The American people are going to issue the order.

The new order, given mandatorially to the marauding nations of the world, will be:

"Keep the international law; maintain the peace of the world; dismiss your robber bands and pirate hordes; get back to your own confines and stay there."

That will be the new order, and, believe us, it will be a new order and a new era for most of the world except America.

But it will be an era of peace, an era of prosperity, an era of health and wealth and happiness, an era of decency and democracy, an era of righteousness and religion, an era of enlightenment and liberty for all.

[From the Chicago Sun of December 7, 1941]

The Nation is at war. It is easy for any American to establish a standard of conduct for his neighbors. The more critical the state of the country, the easier. The difficulty is to establish a standard for one's self.

In supreme crisis such as war, the problem simplifies itself. One is either for his country and its government, or against them.

The Chicago Sun offers a stern and sober statement of fact as a basis for its own conduct.

The United States is legally at war with Germany.

This is said in no loose sense and with no uncertainty. The American and German Nations are engaged in public war and an unbroken string of Supreme Court decisions running back 140 years will testify to that fact.

In 1799 a French privateer captured an American ship. It was recaptured by an American warship, and the question of salvage depended on whether the United States and France were at war or peace. The Supreme Court held that they were at war, Justice Washington saying (4 Dallas 37):

"It may, I believe, be safely laid down, that every contention by force between nations, in external matters, under the authority of their respective governments, is not only war, but public war. If it be declared in form, it is called solemn and is of the perfect kind; because one whole nation is at war with another whole nation. . . . But hostilities may subsist between two nations, more confined in its nature and extent; being limited as to places, persons, and things; and this is more properly termed imperfect war. . . . Still, however, it is a public war, because it is external contention by force between some of the members of the two nations, authorized by the legitimate powers. It is a war between the two nations."

These words have been quoted again and again by the Supreme Court, with approval, in later cases. They leave only one loophole through which it could be argued that the United States and Germany are at peace, to wit: That Hitler is exercising legitimate powers when he ordered his navy to sink American war ships, but that the President of the United States has no constitutional power to do anything that creates or recognizes a state of limited war, because only Congress can declare a solemn war. But the Supreme Court has passed on that, too. Twice, in cases arising out of the Civil War, it upheld the power of President Lincoln to order a blockade of southern ports, before Congress had acted, and declared that his action marked the legal beginning of the war.

In the *Protector* case (12 Wall. 700) the Court said:

"The question in the present case is, When did the rebellion begin and end? . . . The proclamation of intended blockade by the President may, therefore, be assumed as marking the first of these dates, and the proclamation that the war had closed as marking the second."

In the *Prize cases* (2 Black 635) the Court declared:

"The proclamation of blockade is itself official and conclusive evidence to the Court that a state of war existed which demanded and authorized a recourse to such a measure."

The United States and Germany are therefore at war, through the constitutional acts of their respective Governments. It is our intention to uphold the Government of the United States in its efforts to win the war.

[From the Chicago Sun of December 8, 1941]

JAPAN STRIKES

It is war now, grim and to the death. War to the death of Japanese and German militarism or to the death of the United States of America.

All that President Roosevelt foresaw and feared and worked against, all that lesser men refused to fear because they could not see, has come to pass. The thing of evil that is abroad in the world has coiled its ugly body and struck.

As Hitler struck at Europe, Japan has struck at America, cloaking words of peace in deeds of war and treachery.

Let no American think that this is a one-ocean war, a one-handed war, or a war with one nation only.

We have been struck by the Weltschmerz—the world serpent—its head in Germany and its tail in Japan.

Japan has plunged us into war to the hilt, not only with herself but with Germany—war without limit in space or time or effort. We stand where Britain stands, where Russia stands. Never will there be peace or security for us until all the war-mad dictators lie upon the ground, their dreams of conquest shattered, their war machines beaten to scrap.

It was Hitler who brought this war upon us, luring the Japanese with promises of aid and loot; filling their ears with tales of American weakness today and strength tomorrow. If for strategic reasons, our Government does not proclaim at once the parity of Germany and Japan as enemies, let us not for one moment forget that it is nevertheless true, and that our task has been set for us by those who loosed the bolt of war.

Is there need, at this moment, to call once more for that national unity which should have been ours 2 years ago?

No; a thousand times, no.

The Nation is one, or it is nothing. That means it is one, with a single will and purpose; a single heartbeat.

Enemy agents there are among us, and "fifth columnists," but let us forget, in a split second, all the debates and discords that have divided loyal American citizens. There are no internal enemies but those who show themselves to be such from this day onward.

Not patriotic passion, but purpose, is the need in Congress, and must be the keynote of American thought.

The labor law we need now is not one to push or repress, but to unite the will to victory of workers and employers alike.

The service of every man and woman belongs to the country; a universal draft in which there are no age limits.

"I offer you blood and tears," said Winston Churchill to his people. God willing, and every one of us doing his part, the American people will make it blood and tears of victory.

[From the Chicago Times]

AN AXIS POWER HAS STARTED WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

The conflagration about which President Roosevelt in 1937 warned the Western Hemisphere has spread to our land. A lunatic Japan, under the lash of a lunatic Germany, has commenced hostilities against the United States and Great Britain.

If war had to be for us, it came the way we would want it recorded in history. Never has there been a more clear-cut case of treacherous aggression against our Nation. Japan struck without warning at the very moment her Ambassadors were calling at our State Department, presumably seeking a peaceable settlement of Pacific affairs.

If anything were needed to make the record clear beyond question of doubt, President Roosevelt's direct appeal to Emperor Hirohito is that evidence. Persuasive, conciliatory couched in terms approaching humility, Mr. Roosevelt's was one of the most moving appeals for peace ever addressed by the head of one state to another in all the annals of mankind.

Yet from the nature of the attacks upon Hawaii and Guam and on American ships in the Pacific just a few hundred miles from San Francisco, it is plainly evident that for at least 2 or 3 weeks, while Ambassadors Nomura and Kurusu were in daily "peace conferences" in Washington, the Japanese Fleet was already in action against us. There is no other conclusion than that the Japanese diplomatic emissaries were deliberately stalling to give their naval forces time to maneuver into position for attack.

The American people inevitably are united today. With a single mind the Nation presses implacably toward smashing international gangsterism. Already the bitterest isolationists have announced their unswerving support of the Nation's defense. As Congress meets in joint session to hear from the President all the people, as well as Congress, concur unanimously in the resolution for a counter-offensive war.

In the wave of indignation against Japan the American people will keep a sane perspective. Japan has attacked us. It is against Japan we move. But Japan's action is only part of a world assault upon peace, justice, and international order. Had it not been for Adolf Hitler, Japan would never have ventured upon such a suicidal course.

It must be remembered that Japan, Germany, and Italy are signatories to a war pact aimed at world domination, with every nation to be assigned "its proper sphere"—as the Axis leaders may determine. War started against us by Japan is tantamount to war upon us by her two partners in crime. There can be no peace until those who seek to conquer the world by force and terror have been crushed.

No easy task has been thrust upon us by a mad military clique in Tokyo that has made this war against us on orders of a madder military cabalism in Berlin. We shall have our full share of blood, toil, tears, and sweat. We have talked about sacrifices. Now we shall have to make them—our dead in Hawaii have already made them.

There can be no fears as to the ultimate outcome of this ordeal. Aroused, united, able at least to throw our full tremendous strength into the struggle unhampered by doubts, confusion, and internal differences, the American people can deal blows no nation on earth can match.

A strange blindness afflicts nations or leaders of nations who believe in war as an instrument of national policy. They never detect the latent strength which democratic peoples possess underneath a veneer of apparent weakness, the surface appearance of disunity, which is the natural accompaniment of democratic processes.

So the aggressor nations send forth their grim war lords, their armies, and navies perfectly trained in the arts of slaughter and destruction. Then, sooner or later, the patient, peaceable people of the democracies, amiable people who have no ambition but to be left alone to live their own lives, get pushed around just too much. Reluctantly, they lay aside normal pursuits, put aside the unfinished business of peace, roll up their

sleeves, and, made strong by righteous wrath, proceed to wallop the daylights out of the aggressors.

It has happened many times before. It is going to happen now. Let us hope that when this dirty business has once more been accomplished the peaceful peoples of the world will find the wisdom to set up some enduring form of international peace so that this time the sacrifices which we unitedly face will not have been made in vain.

[From Chicago Daily News]

A united Nation today, the United States is at war. We write these words in sorrow. We write them also with a sense, undoubtedly shared by a vast number of Americans, not exactly of relief at this tragic ending of the long nerve strain to which we have been subjected, but of deep faith that all is somehow for the best. We have tried in every reasonable way to avoid what has happened. At the hands both of Hitler and Japan we have been patient and long-suffering. To everyone the truth should at last be apparent, as the Daily News has for months been explaining: That Hitler's plans, in conjunction with Japan's, included—at his own chosen moment, under the Tokyo-Berlin-Rome alliance—a blitz attack on the United States. Sooner or later it had to come.

Thanks now to Japan, the deep division of opinion that has rent and paralyzed our country will be swiftly healed. It cannot be otherwise. Once more we shall be a united people, firm in a single determination—to maintain our liberties by the complete and utter defeat of our foes.

WAR WITH JAPAN—STATEMENT BY SENATOR MEAD

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, the Government of Japan has struck a new low, among the nations of the world, in the methods employed in the initiation of warfare. The direct assault on the United States yesterday by Japan finds few parallels in recorded history. The whole character of the unprovoked attack was reprehensible, infamous, and diabolical.

While Japan's emissaries were here in this city professing friendliness to the American people, while they falsely pleaded the cause of their country at the State Department, while they expressed affection for our leadership in the White House, their own nation's dive bombers and undersea craft were dealing death and destruction to our people and our ships in the Pacific.

Japan will never live this down. So long as present generations live, and probably much longer, Japanese diplomacy will be the subject of scorn, derision, and contempt.

The United States, and all the Americas, are swiftly accepting the challenge. The treachery of the Japanese can only result in their complete military annihilation. The only hope for the Japanese people themselves will be their own relentless purge of the sneaks and unprincipled, insane militarists who now lead the Japanese Empire.

The methods which were resorted to yesterday were in conformity with the technique of past Axis aggressions, the only difference being that this attack was more dastardly, more dishonorable. But Japan has stooped far below the gutter level. She has prostituted all the rules of human decency and accepted codes of international conduct. By foul and

despicable means she has spilled American blood. She will be repaid in kind—and repaid a thousandfold—for her outrageous conduct.

Aside from the barbarism of this sudden attack, we do well to keep in mind that for some time Japan has been a growing menace to our safety and security in the Pacific. Our trade and commerce, in fact, our right to the freedom of the seas, has for some time been threatened by the militarists of Tokyo. Our strategic materials, vital commodities, and normal exchange of commerce, have been placed in jeopardy. The future of the Philippines has been jeopardized. Yesterday's clouds of threat and uncertainty are now cleared. The enemy is unmasked. Our purpose is well-defined. We will seek out the enemy, and we will apply American force in the cause of justice, decency, and our own security.

Mr. President, no scintilla of criticism can be leveled at our President, our State Department, or the Congress in connection with the conduct of the recent negotiations. We have exerted every feasible effort to avert this conflict. We have even gone to the extent of making sacrifices in the matter of critical materials, in the matter of trade negotiations, and in the matter of friendly conciliation, in supreme endeavors to pacify the Japanese and to maintain peace in the Pacific. The President of the United States, in a final plea, appealed directly to the highest Japanese authority, the Emperor himself, to use his mighty influence on the side of peace.

We know now the futility of all these efforts. It is a heartbreaking catastrophe. War must be waged, men must die, homes must be broken, because the Axis leaders in Tokyo have insisted upon this course. They have brought down upon themselves the curse and affliction of war. They have dug the grave into which they will inevitably fall.

In this fateful hour, Mr. President, we find our moral strength in our Nation's leadership. We can depend upon our President—our Commander in Chief—to direct the mighty force of the United States. We can depend upon our Navy to measure up to the highest traditions of the past. We can depend upon our military forces to be ever on the alert, and efficiently to carry out their missions. We can depend, too, upon the patriotism of capital and labor; they will set aside their differences, and will insist that work stoppages be averted by mediation. And, most important of all, we can depend upon the great civilian population of the Nation to unite as a whole—body, mind, and heart—promptly and enthusiastically to assume their responsibilities, and to discharge them with speed and vigor.

The Congress must support all efforts to combat this new spread of Axis aggression. War, with its tragedy, has come to our people. We will see it through; we will bring the Japanese militarists to their knees; we will fight as never before to guarantee our own security, and to restore the blessings of peace.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD as a part of my remarks an editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune today entitled "To a Victorious End."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of December 8, 1941]

TO A VICTORIOUS END

In this solemn hour the first thought of every American will be of his country. "The drumming guns that have no doubts" have spoken. That union in face of peril, which was grievously lacking, is at hand. How to cooperate, what one can do to aid the flag that protects us all becomes the instinctive thought of every citizen.

The attack itself, an act of naked aggression committed while Japanese envoys were actually in discussion with our State Department, and the President's message lay before the Emperor, came as a dismaying shock. Because Americans could not themselves take such action, it is difficult for them to conceive of the mind which instinctively acts without thought of law or honor. But if the manner of the aggression was a surprise, the fact that this Nation at last finds itself at grips with Japan will hold no corresponding astonishment. The course of Japanese militarism, seeking conquest in defiance of every legal and moral obligation, could not fail, if continued, to clash with this Nation's essential rights in the Pacific area. It had been the hope of Americans that the liberal elements among the Japanese people might be able to restrain these reckless aggressors. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull deserve all praise for their patient efforts to support these elements and preserve the peace. Since the clash now appears to have been inevitable, its occurrence brings with it a sense of relief. The air is clearer. Americans can get down to their task with old controversies forgotten.

That task is plainly not confined to the Pacific. If the ambitions of the Tokyo militarists brought the issues of the Pacific to a bloody climax, they did so in the closest cooperation with their allies, the militarists of Berlin. But one war is being fought in the world today, and in the most accurate sense Hitler is the master of the totalitarian group. Whether we should now declare war upon Germany as well as Japan is a matter of practical diplomacy. The fact is that the craters sunk at Honolulu by Japanese planes have brought to American soil the same war that has killed its thousands in Europe and enslaved so many of the free nations of the world.

The battle is on. It cannot stop in the Pacific until Japanese militarism has been ended for all time. It cannot stop in Europe until the power for evil of Nazi militarists has been equally destroyed and their captives freed. If the maneuver of the Japanese attack was designed with any thought that its surprise would distract this Nation from its part in the world scene—in the Atlantic, in Europe, in Africa—the sooner the minds that so underestimated American intelligence are disabused of this notion the better. We know that we state no more than the simple truth when we declare that this war against our enemies—wherever they may be—will be fought to a victorious end with the last energy, the last resource, and the last ounce of determination of every American man and woman.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House

had passed without amendment the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 116) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

CONTROL OF STRIKES IN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, and since a great number of Senators have made inquiries in regard to the matter, I should like to announce that the Senate Committee on Education and Labor met this morning, according to agreement, at 10:30 o'clock. We were to have discussed procedure. All the members of the committee were stunned, of course, by the events which have occurred since we last met, and it was moved and decided that the committee meet on Wednesday next at 10:30 o'clock a. m., without prejudice to any action which has been placed before us, to consider procedure.

Mr. President, I am tempted to say, as a result of the remarks made by the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD] in regard to capital and labor—and I am sure I express the opinion of the entire Committee on Education and Labor—that we trust and hope that within the 48 hours between now and the time when the committee will again meet, some action will have been taken on the part of capital and labor whereby a voluntary method of avoiding stoppages in our defense program may be provided.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Utah when he expects to hold hearings on the Smith bill?

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. No decision at all was reached in our meeting this morning about procedure. I can say that no hearings were held on the Smith bill in the House committee; so, of course, out of fairness to all concerned, I think that if we go forward with the matter we shall hold hearings on the Smith bill.

Mr. BYRD. Will the Senator give me some idea as to how long the hearings will last? It seems to me that this proposed legislation, passed in the House by a large majority, should have the consideration of the Senate as promptly as possible. I was wondering how long the Senator from Utah thought the hearings would continue.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I should like to have an answer also to the inquiry I am about to propound. The Senator from Utah speaks of hearings on the House bill. Is he contemplating hearings also on the Connally bill, and on the bill which has been before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor? In other words, is the committee to have hearings covering all the proposals, or merely on the measure passed by the House?

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. The Connally bill is not before the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. McNARY. I appreciate that; I know that it was considered by the Committee on the Judiciary; but I assume the Senator's committee would have a right to consider that bill in connection with the general subject.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. I cannot answer for the committee in that regard, but I can in regard to the other bills. We have completed hearings on the Ball bill, which has been before the committee for some time and which has been reported and placed on the Senate calendar. We have also before us the Bridges bill and the Herring bill. We have held hearings on the Herring bill. The Bridges bill contains some features which are covered by the Smith bill, so that if we hold hearings on the Smith bill, there will be opportunity to consider the phases of the Bridges bill which are covered by the Smith bill.

As to the Connally bill, I think the provisions in the Connally bill which it was suggested should be attached to the Smith bill in the House of Representatives were dropped. Therefore there is not before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor a measure similar to the Connally bill.

Now, if I may answer the Senator from Virginia, I may say that if the chairman of the committee could have his way we would proceed with dispatch, and hear from all persons who should testify before us, but would limit the testimony so that there would not be vain repetitions. In that way I think we could meet the problem before us with dispatch and give due consideration to all the facts. It is the intent of the chairman at the present time to follow that course.

Mr. BYRD. The Senator from Utah contemplates reporting the Smith bill for the consideration of the Senate about next Monday. I understand that suggestion was discussed in the committee meeting. I was wondering if it would be possible to do that.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. When the committee met and outlined the list of witnesses who would probably be called, it was assumed that 3 days of hearings would be sufficient and that we likely could be ready next Monday to make some sort of report.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Utah yield to me?

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator made some reference to a bill which I introduced, and he said something about provisions of that bill being dropped. I did not quite understand what he meant by that statement.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. When the measure passed by the House of Representatives was under consideration some provisions similar to certain provisions in the Connally bill were presented, but they were left out of the Smith bill as it was adopted by the House of Representatives.

Mr. CONNALLY. They never were in the Smith bill.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Not in the way in which they are contained in the Connally bill.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is what I am talking about. I wish to say to the Senator from Utah that I expect at the earliest possible time to press for consideration of my bill. Some of the provisions of the Smith bill might very well be incorporated in the bill which I have

offered. But I am insisting, so far as I can have any influence, that the two principles contained in the bill which I introduced—that is, the power to take over strike-bound plants, and at least the freezing of pre-strike relationships—shall be continued, because those principles are absolutely essential.

There is nothing in the Smith bill which authorizes the taking over of strike-bound plants. Here, let us say, is an employer who cannot produce or will not produce, or here is a group of employees who will not produce or cannot produce. If that plant is to operate, who else but the Government of the United States can take it over and see that it continues to operate?

The Smith bill still leaves the situation open to all the squabbles and disturbances and arguments between employers and employees which my bill is designed to bring to an end. The minute the Government steps in and takes over the Government itself is the employer, and if the plant is "frozen," the Government can operate it as it has been operated in the past.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, permit me to say that I believe the Senator should have made one exception, and that is with respect to the matter of wages.

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes; a Defense Wage Board is provided for that purpose. Everyone wants the employee to get a fair wage. But we do not want the employee to stand at the door of the plant with a club and say, "I am not going to work, and nobody else shall work." I do not regard the penalties contained in the Smith bill as of any force whatever. What penalty is there in saying, "You can go ahead and strike, but you cannot appeal to the Labor Board?" That is no penalty. That is simply striking one on the wrist with a silk handkerchief.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, since questions have been asked with regard to hearings, in order to make the answer complete I must add that hearings on the Connally bill have been held by the Judiciary Committee and after the hearings the bill was reported to the Senate.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me further?

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Hearings were held before the Judiciary Committee on the bill which I introduced, and in those hearings representatives of the War Department said they wanted the bill to be passed without amendment. The Navy Department, through its officers, appeared and said that if we passed the bill it would do the job. The Maritime Commission appeared, through its representatives, and said, "This bill will do the work. If it is passed we can build ships." That is what the hearings revealed. The Secretary of War informally told me last Saturday that he hoped to God the Senate would pass the bill which I have introduced. He said, "We can continue production in these plants and the War Department can get arms and munitions if your measure is passed."

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] has the floor.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. I yield the floor.

Mr. CONNALLY. Very well, then I shall take the floor.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. HATCH. What the Senator from Texas has just said is the sole purpose of the bill which he introduced. It is not proposed to be permanent legislation.

Mr. CONNALLY. No, it would not be permanent legislation.

Mr. HATCH. It is proposed legislation intended to take care of the present situation in connection with strikes in defense industries. So, as the Senator from Texas has said, it is essentially a defense measure.

Mr. CONNALLY. I will say to the Senator from New Mexico, who rendered very efficient service in the subcommittee and also in the full committee, that the bill which I introduced is not essentially an antilabor bill, it is not essentially an antiemployer bill; it is essentially a national-defense measure, having for its primary and supreme purpose the continuation of production in these plants, which is the Government's interest. The Government's interest is more important than the interest of labor; it is more important than the interest of the employer. The bill is limited to the emergency. The plants must be turned back as soon as the Government finds that the employer can operate them and continue production. It is all temporary. We are not undertaking to solve on a permanent peacetime basis all the difficulties which the Smith bill and other measures undertake to solve. We do not have time to stop and do that.

Mr. MURRAY and Mr. BYRD addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield, and if so, to whom?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield first to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I should like to inquire of the Senator if he does not feel, in view of the conditions which have developed as a result of the war, that the necessity for proposed legislation of this character will now be obviated? It seems to me that labor is alert to the situation which now confronts the country. I understand there are in the course of preparation at the present moment statements by labor showing their intention to give 100 percent loyal support to the Government in its program of national defense.

It seems to me that if at this time we were to pass special legislation aimed at labor we would do more damage than good. I for one would hate to see legislation of any kind directed at labor taken up by the Senate now. I believe that labor is as patriotic as any other group in the United States, and that we have no need to fear labor in the emergency which confronts us. I believe we will find from the statements which are about

to be submitted to the people of the country that labor is ready and willing to join with the other groups of the Nation to give loyal support to our Government.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, will the Senator now yield to me?

Mr. CONNALLY. I shall yield to the Senator from Virginia in a moment.

I wish to say to the Senator from Montana that I think labor as a whole is patriotic, but I do not think all its members are patriotic. If my bill is unnecessary it will not hurt anybody. If labor will continue to produce without strikes, and without disturbances, then the passage of this bill will not hurt labor at all. The imminence of war and the conditions of war make it all the more important that production shall proceed and shall not be interrupted. My bill is not an anti-labor bill. It is not an anti-employer bill. It is a Government bill. It is an anti-enemy-of-the-Government bill, if you want to call it that.

Does that answer the Senator from Montana?

Mr. MURRAY. But the purpose of the bill is to prevent strikes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Exactly. But if there are to be no strikes, then it will not stop any strikes. Therefore it will not hurt anybody.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. The bill of the Senator from Texas does not come into play until work is actually stopped at a plant. There must be a stoppage of work before the bill comes into play at all.

Mr. MURRAY. But it assumes that there is to be danger of strikes, which, it seems to me, is not a proper assumption.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I greatly respect the views of the Senator from Montana, and wish I had the optimistic view which he entertains, but that is what was the trouble in Hawaii yesterday. The Army and the Navy did not suppose that the Japanese would come over and bomb them, but they did. So I would rather not suppose that there will be no strikes. I hope there will not be any, but if there should be, I want the Government protected, so it can act—not next week, not after long hearings, but instantly.

Mr. MURRAY. But as the result of the statements sent over the country by the press, it is feared by some that the object of the proposed legislation is punitive; that it is designed to threaten labor.

Mr. CONNALLY. Oh, no.

Mr. MURRAY. It seems to me it is not necessary to do that. I believe the passage of the bill would create a feeling that a bayonet was being pointed at labor to coerce it into a course which it is going to follow anyway.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator that there is not a punitive line in the bill which I have introduced. All it provides is that the Government shall take over a plant when and if there is delay caused by a strike, or by any other cause. When the Government takes it over every man is free to quit if he wants to quit, or to work if he wants to work. The only coercive

feature is that it is to be assumed that when the Government takes over the operation of a plant it will not permit two or three fellows at the front door with clubs to determine whether the plant is to produce. If that is punitive, let it be punitive.

Mr. MURRAY. It seems to me we should give labor an opportunity.

Mr. CONNALLY. We are giving labor an opportunity. Up to the time the Government takes over, labor has been working voluntarily under certain conditions under which it assumed employment. We propose to make sure that neither the employer nor the employee shall take advantage of the Government's extremity in its hour of peril by being able to demand that the relationship be changed to his selfish advantage.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. I merely wish to call the attention of the Senator to a fact of which he is well aware, and of which every other Member of the Senate is aware, that in passing the Selective Service Act the Congress, with respect to industry, passed exactly such a law as is now proposed with respect to labor.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is true.

Mr. HATCH. If the measure now proposed is punitive, the Selective Service Act was punitive.

Mr. CONNALLY. Exactly.

Mr. HATCH. It seeks to apply to both sides the same standard that was set up in the Selective Service Act.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BYRD. The Senator from Texas made reference to the Smith bill. The Smith bill likewise applies only to the emergency, and applies only to strikes in defense industries.

Mr. CONNALLY. I mentioned the Smith bill. There are a number of bills the purpose of which is to lay down a permanent peacetime plan. I do not seek to do that.

Mr. BYRD. The Smith bill was passed by the House of Representatives by a vote of nearly two to one. If the Senate ignores the Smith bill and sends over to the House a Senate bill, I predict that it will receive no consideration from the House of Representatives.

Mr. CONNALLY. The coercive strike which the Senator is threatening does not have any influence with me.

Mr. BYRD. I am not threatening any strike. I say that if the Senate refuses to consider the Smith bill the House will be justified in not considering the Senate bill.

Mr. CONNALLY. I assume that the Senate will consider it. The Senator from Virginia is against strikes in defense industries, and yet he is threatening the Senate with a sit-down strike unless it passes the kind of bill he wants to have passed.

Mr. BYRD. I am not threatening the Senate. I am only predicting what will happen.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator is threatening a sit-down strike unless the Senate passes a bill the author of which

lives in his State and is one of his constituents.

Mr. BYRD. I merely said that if the Senate should not consider the Smith bill the House would be justified in not considering the Senate bill.

Mr. CONNALLY. I am in favor of considering them all, and selecting the best bill.

Mr. BYRD. It is entirely satisfactory to the Senator from Virginia to have all the bills considered on their merits by the Senate itself.

Mr. CONNALLY. I hope the Senator will not renew his threat of a sit-down strike.

Mr. BYRD. I shall be glad to renew it if the Senate does not consider the Smith bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. With reference to the status of the various bills on the subject of strike legislation, let me say to the Senator from Texas that I am not a member of either the Judiciary Committee or the Committee on Education and Labor. I think it is unfortunate that there should now be any controversy between those two committees with regard to the matter of jurisdiction over legislation of this sort.

The Judiciary Committee has reported the Connally bill, and it is now on the calendar. Any Senator may move to take it up at any time when he can obtain recognition for that purpose. I have been unavoidably absent, but I have been trying to keep up with the situation. As I understand, since the Connally bill was reported to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee the Committee on Education and Labor has had under consideration the so-called Ball bill; and since the House has passed the Smith bill, now that the Committee on Education and Labor has before it both the Ball bill and the Smith bill, upon which I understand no report has been made, if the Connally bill now on the calendar is taken up, either the Smith bill or the Ball bill is in order as a substitute or as an amendment.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have the feeling that until there has been some development through a hearing that would inform the Senate better than it is now informed—certainly better than I am informed—it might be unfortunate to try to take up the Connally bill and then offer either the Ball bill or the Smith bill, or any part of the Smith bill, as a substitute or as an amendment. It seems to me that until the committee has had a hearing and given those who are for the measure and those who are against it an opportunity to be heard, it might be of no disadvantage to let proposed labor legislation ride for a few days until the Committee on Education and Labor can have a hearing and make a report, if it wishes to make a report. At least we should have information as to the attitude of those interested in legislation before we take it up.

I should dislike to be called upon to vote in my present state of information, or misinformation, concerning the Smith

bill or the Ball bill as an amendment to or substitute for the Connally bill. I think a few days ought to be devoted to trying to clarify the atmosphere in respect to the various measures before we take up the question in the Senate. Of course, I have no objection to taking up as soon as possible any bill which is pertinent and necessary or advisable. But I feel that time might be gained, and we might gain something in constructive legislation if the committee were given an opportunity to develop the facts as they will be presented by those who favor and those who oppose the Smith bill or the Ball bill.

In a technical sense, we cannot consider all three bills. One of them has been reported by the Committee on the Judiciary, and is now on the calendar. Have I stated the situation correctly?

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I am in hearty agreement with what our leader says, except in one particular. In that particular a correction should be made. The Ball bill is already on the calendar.

Mr. BARKLEY. I was not informed. I thought it was still in the committee.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator from Kentucky that I am not hostile to any of these measures if they are meritorious and the Senate wants to approve them. I am only insisting on the retention of what I regard as the two most important features of my own bill. I refer to the power to take over strike-bound plants and the power to freeze relationships as they exist before a strike. When we make such provisions we take away any hope or inducement for a strike, and any temptation for a strike.

The Senator from Kentucky wants hearings. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate had full hearings, at which representatives of the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. appeared. Those hearings have been printed, and are available to every Senator.

The reason why the Senator from Texas originally asked that his bill be referred to the Judiciary Committee was that he wanted some action. With all due respect to the Committee on Education and Labor, it has had labor bills before it for perhaps more than a year. I do not know whether it has held hearings; but it has not reported any bill. If the Committee on Education and Labor will report any kind of a bill to the Senate, then we can take up my bill, and perhaps amalgamate the two measures and send them to conference in an effort to work out a satisfactory measure.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. The point I was making is that there have been no hearings before either committee on the Smith bill.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct. There have been no hearings on the Smith bill, the Brown bill, or the Jones bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Smith bill is now with the Senate, and it may be offered as a substitute.

Mr. CONNALLY. The House is making a big hurrah about passing the Smith bill. Everybody knows that a year or 6 months ago the House refused to pass any kind of a labor bill. Now it has become very virtuous and is rushing over here with a so-called bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. All I am trying to do is to see that some information is given to the Senate, through a hearing, with respect to any of the bills likely to be offered as a substitute for or an amendment to a bill which the Senate may take up. That is all I am seeking to do. It seems to me that ought to be done. As the Senator knows, I have been absent from the city and have not been familiar with the hearings held before his committee. I think it is always unfortunate when two committees get into any sort of controversy, however friendly, with respect to jurisdiction over legislation.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, the Committee on Education and Labor will work as our leader has suggested we should work; we will hold hearings, and the testimony taken at the hearings will be presented to the Senate.

I think the Senator from Texas has gotten his ideas about the Committee on Education and Labor a little confused. In fact, the amendment which he offered is an amendment not to a bill from the Committee on Education and Labor at all, but to a bill which came out of the Committee on Military Affairs.

With reference to the suggestion that no action has been taken upon bills before the Committee on Education and Labor, I think our record stands about as well as that of any other committee. That is all anyone need say at this time, I think.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, one further word.

As has been wisely suggested to me by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AUSTIN], who was very helpful on the subcommittee and on the full Committee on the Judiciary, there is no competition between my bill and the bill of anyone else, because mine incorporates principles which could very easily be incorporated in the other bills. All I am asking for is a chance. If the Committee on Education and Labor want to report the other bill, let them do so, and let the Senate consider it, so that I can offer my bill as a substitute or as an amendment; or they can offer theirs as a substitute for, or as an amendment to, my bill. If they will report the bill, I shall move that my bill be taken up and then they can move to substitute the House bill for my bill, or anything else.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, the suggestion of the Senator from Texas is in order right now. The Committee on Education and Labor has upon the calendar a bill which stands in exactly the same legislative position as that occupied by the bill reported from the Committee on the Judiciary. If the Senator from Texas wanted to call up the Ball bill and desired to offer his bill as an amendment, that would be in order at this minute.

Mr. CONNALLY. Does the Ball bill represent the views and the final conclusions and all the conclusions of the Committee on Education and Labor?

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. It did when it was reported. Many things have happened since then.

Mr. CONNALLY. If the Committee on Education and Labor has nothing else to consider but the Ball bill, I will say to the Senator that I hope one of the other bills will be taken up.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. The point the Senator from Utah desires to make is that every time the Senator from Texas suggests that we have been lax—

Mr. CONNALLY. I did not use the word "lax."

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. No; I know the Senator from Texas did not use the word "lax." Probably he used a somewhat harsher word in reference to the committee.

Mr. CONNALLY. Oh, no.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. And also in reference to the action of the House of Representatives.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me say to the Senator from Utah that I was not trying to criticize his committee. I was merely telling him why I asked that my bill be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. As I ride along the road, I look across the fence and see a lot of grave-stones. Well, I did not want to send my bill there. [Laughter.] With all respect, I wanted it referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, but I have no criticism. If I were on the Committee on Education and Labor, I suppose I would be in confusion and uncertainty about all these bills. But I am a one-track individual; I have a one-track mind; I had this idea, and I thought the Committee on the Judiciary would act. Mine is not an anti-labor bill or an antiemployer bill. There is no reason why it should be labeled as antilabor. I moved to have it referred to the Committee on the Judiciary because it is a national-defense bill, and I thought the Committee on the Judiciary was national-defense minded. That is all I have to say.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, the Senator from Utah handled in conference the Connally amendment to a bill from the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. CONNALLY. And the House kicked it out the window.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. That is true; but the Senator from Utah tried his hardest to take care of the Connally amendment.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator, and I am very grateful; and if the Senator from Utah will renew his efforts now, we shall get the Connally bill.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Of course, if the Connally bill is referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, the Senator from Utah will do his best in the committee. If it is referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, he will do his best. But out of fairness to the Senate of the United States he will stand, as he did before, and assert that the amendment of the Senator from Texas was an amendment to a bill reported by the Committee on Military Affairs and not

one from the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. CONNALLY. No, Mr. President; it was an amendment offered on the floor. The Committee on Military Affairs did not think about it. The amendment was offered on the floor by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], as I recall. So there is no parenthood there for which the Committee on Military Affairs may claim exclusive responsibility.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. O, Mr. President, the Senator from Texas is forgetting that members of the Committee on Military Affairs handled those provisions in conference, and that since that time the plant-seizure bill has been acted upon a an independent bill by the Committee on Military Affairs and by the Senate, and that the very reason urged by the Senator from Texas as to the necessity of passing his bill was that the plant-seizure bill did not cover strikes in mines. That is true; is it not?

Mr. CONNALLY. That is true.

Mr. MEAD rose.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, I desire to appeal for delay in considering this subject along the line suggested by the majority leader. If we should pass the Connally bill and send it over to the House, much as I esteem the distinguished Senator from Texas, I greatly fear that it would receive the same treatment it received on a previous occasion, and we should not gain anything, not only because they rejected it before, but because the Senate so far has refused to consider the Smith bill.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MEAD. I will yield in a moment.

Mr. CONNALLY. Is the Senator from New York for the Smith bill?

Mr. MEAD. I have not come to that yet. I am about to discuss that bill.

If we do not consider the Smith bill, the distinguished Senator from Virginia, who is interested in obtaining consideration of that measure, will have justifiable reason to object to the entire procedure. If we take up the Ball bill, setting aside both the Smith bill and the Connally bill, we shall find confusion in the Chamber.

I make the point, Mr. President, that if we send the Ball bill to the House, they probably will give it the same sort of consideration they gave the Connally bill, because they will insist that, in keeping with the integrity of parliamentary procedure, the Senate should consider the bill they sent here before we reported a bill out of our committee.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MEAD. Certainly; I am glad to yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Is the Senator from New York now seeking, as a former Member of the House of Representatives, to threaten a strike on the part of the House if we do not wish to do what the House wants us to do? This is a joint legislative set-up, composed of two bodies.

Mr. MEAD. That is correct. I was saying a moment ago, when the Senator from Texas was accusing the Senator

from Virginia of inspiring a sit-down strike—

Mr. CONNALLY. Is the Senator from New York threatening to join him?

Mr. MEAD. No; but the Senator from Texas was probably making an argument to hurry consideration of his bill, so that he could seize the Capitol, and make other Senators work, and stop the sit-down strike. [Laughter.]

Mr. CONNALLY. In some cases I think that might be desirable, but I do not intend to make such an effort.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, speaking seriously, if we should pass any one of these bills today, we would not accomplish anything, because if we should send the Connally bill over to the House of Representatives, we know that the House would, as to that bill, take a position consistent with its previous attitude, and having some relation also to the failure of the Senate to consider the House bill which is now awaiting consideration, and which the Senator from Virginia is insisting shall be considered.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question purely for information?

Mr. MEAD. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. If we should send any bill to the House—I do not care whether it is mine or not—is there any law which would prevent the House from substituting the Smith bill for it, and letting the entire subject go to conference?

Mr. MEAD. No; there is no such law.

Mr. CONNALLY. Is there any disposition on the part of the House to ignore such a situation and to say "We will not have anything to do with you?"

Mr. MEAD. No, there is no law; there is merely precedent. The House passed by an overwhelming vote a House bill dealing with the subject, at a time when there was no Senate bill on the Senate Calendar. Now we propose to send to the House a bill on the same subject, without considering the bill they sent to the Senate; and it occurs to me that in the past such a course has created some friction which resulted in the delay of legislation.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MEAD. I am not speaking now for any of these bills, but I merely wanted to say, if the majority leader will bear with me for a moment, that we are now in a state of war; that when the World War came upon us the then President of the United States created a voluntary board to take over, to consider, and to handle the subject which is now covered by these bills. He appointed the late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the former President of the United States, Mr. Taft, and Frank P. Walsh as co-chairmen of the National War Labor Board. They drew up a set of rules and principles to govern the conduct of labor and industry in their controversies over wages, working conditions, and so forth. Perhaps now that we are at war, such an emergency industrial labor board will be created. If it is created, if it is voluntary, and if labor and industry will get together under a chairman selected by the President, we shall show the Fascist

nations, the Nazi nations, the Communist nations, and all the totalitarian nations of the world, that we can settle our difficulties in true democratic fashion, without punitive measures, and without compulsion.

So, Mr. President, I believe delay in the matter of the consideration of these bills for a few days will probably promote rather than injure the chances of our effecting some method of settlement.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, the Senator said that the House passed the Smith bill before my bill was on the calendar. The RECORD shows that my bill was reported on the 1st of December. When was the Smith bill passed by the House? It was passed on December 3, was it not?

Mr. MEAD. I was under the impression that the House bill came to the Senate before either of the Senate bills was reported.

Mr. CONNALLY. No; my bill was on the calendar on December 1.

Mr. MEAD. Then I stand corrected. Nevertheless, it occurs to me that we ought to wait a few days. Perhaps a national voluntary emergency board will be created by the President representing labor and industry, with an outstanding American as its chairman, and such voluntary board may draft a set of rules and regulations whereby all these differences may be ironed out. They could recommend the coordination of mediation and conciliation, and could recommend a suitable method of arbitration.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MEAD. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MURDOCK. It has been suggested to me this afternoon that the bill with reference to labor relations which was enacted during the last war has never been repealed but became inactive because of the ending of that war, and that now the present war status, in all probability, will revive that bill.

Mr. MEAD. That is correct.

Mr. MURDOCK. It seems to me that certainly the Committee on Education and Labor should look into that question before we hastily consider some other legislation.

Mr. MEAD. I appreciate the contribution made by the distinguished Senator from Utah, who has given a great deal of time and attention to the matter before the Senate. It occurs to me that he is correct in his contention; and, therefore, if we wait a few days we will not be in any way interfering with the subject matter we have in mind.

I believe, Mr. President, that the machinery which was set up during the World War could be made effective and provide for a coordination of all the mediation and conciliation services which are now spread over several different departments; and I think some such action will be taken by the President. Therefore, I do not believe any hasty or punitive action should be taken by the Senate.

AUTHORIZATION TO SIGN JOINT RESOLUTION

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that during the recess or adjournment of the Senate following today's session the Vice President be au-

thorized to affix his signature to the joint resolution passed by the Senate today.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONFIRMATION OF EXECUTIVE NOMINATION

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, there is only one nomination on the Executive Calendar. I ask unanimous consent that, as in executive session, it may be now considered and confirmed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of John O'Keefe to be collector of customs, collection district No. 34, with headquarters at Pembina, N. Dak.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the President be notified of the confirmation of the nomination.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BARKLEY. If there is no further business to be transacted this afternoon, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, December 9, 1941, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate December 8, 1941:

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS

John O'Keefe to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 34, with headquarters at Pembina, N. Dak.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1941

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Heavenly Father, long have Thy servants thirsted after Thee. Thou art merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and Thy mercy endureth from generation to generation. Thou hast lifted our people to a state wherein abound simple brotherhood and righteous living. In this day which no epitaph can flatter and no monument call back to life, there are iron-toned discords roaring with the flames of pain and death; comfort all who mourn their innocent dead and wounded ones; speak to us; give us courage in the darkness and let us hear the unvoiced voice saying: "This is the way; walk ye in it." In Thee we shall never be disillusioned, never disappointed, and never put to shame.

Eternal Father, strong to save, to Thee we lift our prayer of steadfast hope and faith while the calendar of history is being stained with pagan cruelty and deceit. We pray for life-giving calmness, majestic and invincible. If we are to suffer as a people, acquainted with grief and sorrow, oh grant that they may be

heaven's challenge to turn us more devoutly to the blessings of the spirit. O Thou Christ of God, in the deeper processes of our Nation's soul, hold us steadfastly to the realization that the richest garments of a country's character are often sewed with the crimson threads of sacrifice and suffering. Keep us free from passion and hate and bless our land with the enduring prizes of national unity, honor, and integrity. Almighty God, preserve the health of our President, our Speaker and the Congress, and direct them in all their ways. In the name of the world's Saviour. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the previous session be dispensed with, and that the Journal be approved.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, for the remainder of the day, it may be in order at any time for the House to stand in recess, subject to the call of the Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

JOINT SESSION OF THE TWO HOUSES

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Con. Res. 61), and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the 8th day of December 1941, at 12:30 o'clock p. m., for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULES

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order at any time today for the Speaker to recognize Members to move a suspension of the rules.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The House will stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess, subject to the call of the Speaker.

AFTER THE RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m. by the Speaker.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed, without amendment, to a concurrent resolution of the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 61. Concurrent resolution providing for a joint session on Monday, December 8, 1941, for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make.

JOINT MEETING OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE

The Doorkeeper, Mr. Joseph J. Sinnott, announced the Vice President of the United States and the Members of the United States Senate.

The Senate, preceded by the Vice President and by their Secretary and Sergeant at Arms, entered the Chamber.

The Vice President took the chair at the right of the Speaker, and the Members of the Senate took the seats reserved for them.

The Doorkeeper also announced the Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The SPEAKER. On behalf of the House the Chair appoints the following committee to conduct the President into the Chamber: Messrs. McCORMACK, DOUGHTON, and MARTIN of Massachusetts.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints as members on the part of the Senate to conduct the President into the Chamber, the following Members of the Senate: The Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY].

The Doorkeeper announced the members of the Cabinet of the United States.

At 12 o'clock and 29 minutes p. m., the President of the United States, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House and stood at the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. Senators and Representatives of the Seventy-seventh Congress, I have the distinguished honor of presenting the President of the United States.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 453)

The address delivered by the President of the United States to the joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress held this day is as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, 1 hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During

the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya. Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

This morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our Nation.

As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people, in their righteous might, will win through to absolute victory.

I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounded determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, December 8, 1941.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 39 minutes p. m.) the President retired from the Hall of the House.

The SPEAKER announced that the joint session was dissolved.

Thereupon the Vice President and the Members of the Senate, the members of the Cabinet, and the members of the Supreme Court retired from the Chamber.

The joint session of the Senate and the House having been dissolved, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 12 o'clock and 46 minutes p. m.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the message of the President of the United States be

referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered printed.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

WAR RESOLUTION

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass House Joint Resolution 254, which I send to the desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the joint resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same.

Whereas the Imperial Government of Japan has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial Government of Japan; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Miss RANKIN of Montana. I object.

The SPEAKER. This is no unanimous-consent request. No objection is in order.

Is a second demanded?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, a second is considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 20 seconds.

Mr. Speaker and my fellow Americans, the President of the United States has just spoken to the Congress and to the American people. A dastardly attack has been made upon us. This is the time for action.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN] is recognized.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, our Nation is today in the gravest crisis since its establishment as a Republic. All we hold precious and sacred is being challenged by a ruthless, unscrupulous, arrogant foe. We have been the victim of a treacherous attack under cover of darkness. It came at a time when we were trying to establish a basis of peace through mutual understanding. Our ships have been sunk, our planes destroyed, many lives lost, cities and towns under the American flag have been ruthlessly bombed.

No one hates war more than I. Every night I have uttered a silent prayer that America might be spared active involvement in a frightful war. I know the horrors which come with war—the loss of

lives, the sacrifices which must be made by all, the sadness and desolation it always brings.

America is challenged. That challenge comes in a ruthless way which leaves but one answer for a liberty-loving, self-respecting people. We are compelled by this treacherous attack to go to war. From now on there can be no hesitation. We must press the war with unstinted vigor and full efficiency. There can be no peace until the enemy is made to pay in full measure for his dastardly crimes.

We in America have wanted peace. We must now fight to uphold our national honor and make secure our freedom.

The attack on our territory will rally every patriotic American to support of the Nation's needs. In shipyards, in factories, in mines, in blast furnaces, on farms, all over this broad land there will be one spontaneous response. The people of America will unanimously meet the attacks of the aggressor and join in an irresistible effort of increased production. The boys in the training camps and the sailors who maintain the vigils of the sea must have—they will have—the tools and equipment to win this war.

In view of the developments of the past 36 hours, the President's request has my support. When the historic roll is called I hope there will not be a single dissenting vote. Let us show the world we are a united Nation. Let us boldly proclaim we will not permit any force to strike down freedom and progress here in America or replace our way of life with slavery and dictatorship.

God will give us the strength and the courage to drive to victory in a just cause—a cause which means all that makes life worth while to the people not only of America but in every country in the world.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH].

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, it is with sorrow and deep resentment against Japan that I rise to support a declaration of war.

I have consistently opposed our entrance into wars in Europe and Asia for the past 3 years, but the unwarranted, vicious, brazen, and dastardly attack by the Japanese Navy and air force while peace negotiations were pending at Washington and in defiance of the President's eleventh-hour personal appeal to the Emperor, makes war inevitable and necessary.

The time for debate and controversy within America has passed. The time for action has come.

Interventionists and noninterventionists must cease criminations and recriminations, charges and countercharges against each other, and present a united front behind the President and the Government in the conduct of the war.

There can be only one answer to the treacherous attack of the Japanese, and that is war to final victory, cost what it may in blood, treasure, and tears. This unprovoked and senseless aggression by

the Japanese armed forces upon our possessions must be answered by war.

Although I have consistently fought against our intervention in foreign wars, I have repeatedly stated that if we were attacked by any foreign nation, or if the Congress of the United States declared war in the American and constitutional way, I would support the President and the administration to the bitter end.

Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. The Japanese have gone stark, raving mad, and have by their unprovoked attack committed military, naval, and national suicide.

I shall at the proper time volunteer my services as an officer in a combat division, as I did in the last war, preferably with colored troops.

There is no sacrifice too great that I will not make in defense of America and to help annihilate these war-mad Japanese devils.

Now that we are to fight let us go in with our heads and chins up in the American way, and let us serve notice upon the world that this is not only a war against aggression and in defense of our own territories but a war for freedom and democracy all over the world, and that we will not stop until victory is won.

I appeal to all American citizens, particularly to the members of my own party, and to noninterventionists, to put aside personal views and partisanship, and unite behind the President, our Commander in Chief, in assuring victory to the armed forces of the United States.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM].

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, speedy action, not words, should be the order of the day.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON].

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, in this tragic hour words will not convey our feelings or express our righteous indignation. The Japanese unprovoked attack upon the United States without notice, while peace negotiations were still in progress, was dastard treachery and is characteristic of those totalitarian outlaws who talk peace while they have already drawn the dagger with which to strike.

We have but two choices today, either to fight or to surrender, and America, thank God, has never surrendered and never will surrender.

America is united. America will fight. America will win.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS].

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's attack of American territory by Japan was a stab in the back. This outrage was committed at the very moment the Secretary of State was conferring face to face with representatives of the Japanese Government, at their request, for the purpose of finding a peaceful solution. The Japanese envoys were engaged in diplomatic sham and com-

mitted one of the most dishonest acts in the world's history. The indignation of the American people has risen to demand justice and the protection of all that is America. Those of every national strain, proud of their American heritage and citizenship will stand up to the challenge made by Japan of their freedom. All of us are willing today to make every sacrifice to reach our goal. Awful as war is, Americans throughout our land demand a declaration of war today. There is no other choice now. Victory or defeat and it must be victory. Mr. Speaker, we know American men are brave, American women, too, are brave; together a united courage such as ours is certain of victory.

We are willing today to make every sacrifice to achieve our goal. Thank God, Mr. Speaker, the country is united today. United and courageous we march forward to victory.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland [Mrs. BYRON].

Mrs. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, my late husband, Bill Byron, was in the last war. One of my sons is near military age. Should this conflict last long enough, I am willing to give my sons to their country's defense. I am 100 percent in favor of avenging the wrong done our country and maintaining our country's honor. We must go into this thing to beat the Japanese aggressor. I shall do everything by voice, by vote, everything within my power to bring about this end.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CASEY].

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, prior to yesterday we were a divided Nation with respect to our foreign policy. This division of sentiment has interfered with the efficient marshaling of our energies and our resources. America has been a sleeping giant. This attack by the Japanese has awakened us. We are no longer divided. We are one people. We are a Nation galvanized into action. The whole world will soon learn that a truly peace-loving Nation can strike with awful force when thoroughly aroused.

Mr. Speaker, we, Americans all, at this critical hour in the life of our Nation place all that we hold dear—our lives and our sacred honor—upon the altar of our country and at the foot of our country's cause. God helping us, we will not fail.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON].

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday against the roar of Japanese cannon in Hawaii our American people heard a trumpet call; a call to unity; a call to courage; a call to determination once and for all to wipe off of the earth this accursed monster of tyranny and slavery which is casting its black shadow over the hearts and homes of every land. And this is what we are going to do before we are through. And when the battle is over, and it will be a long battle of blood, of tears, of sweat, and sacrifice—but it will be worth it, for when the battle is over—and I hope God may spare me long enough to see it—America will stand in the forefront to help create a world

civilization of freemen everywhere, just as Americans today are free on American soil and propose at any cost to remain so.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, this resolution is in effect a declaration of war against Japan. This is not a war of aggression on our part. It is more than a war for the maintenance of the sovereign rights of the American Republic and for the preservation of American dignity in the councils of the nations of the earth. It is not an idealistic war. The President's message succinctly stated what has happened since dawn on yesterday. This is entirely a defensive war. Our merchant ships, our naval ships, and our airplanes have not only been attacked during the last 48 hours, but our territory has been invaded. Our national-defense facilities have been bombed. Our cities have been attacked. Our soldiers and our sailors have been killed. The coldbloodedness of the attack has been exceeded only by the perfidy and treachery of the attacker. This resolution is a declaration of the American people, speaking in a constitutional way through their elected representatives in Congress, that they will defend their country, their homes, and their firesides against the avarice and the brutality of Japanese assault.

It seems to me that there can be but one honorable and realistic answer on the part of the Congress to this Japanese attack. Much as I abhor war, I am constrained to vote for this resolution.

As is well known in the House, and to the constituents whom I have the honor to represent here, I have been definitely opposed to involving our country in any foreign war except in case of defense. My voice and my votes in the Congress have been directed to that end. I believe thoroughly in America and in our way of life and doubt the wisdom of attempting to compel the world, by force, to adhere to the principles of government which we enjoy and which by choice we will defend to the end.

Mr. Speaker, I am impressed with the solemnity of this occasion. To me, it is depressing and dreadful. I realize full well the implications of a great war with Japan. The sacrifices our people must make in both life and treasure cannot be appraised. However, we have been attacked and at this good hour Japanese soldiers are doing their best to destroy our country and to kill our people.

To me, there is no choice in this matter. Japan has cast the die. It is either surrender or fight. Our people will never surrender.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, the time for action has arrived. My words, therefore, will be few.

Early yesterday morn, out of the fading darkness of the night before, hundreds of Japanese flyers, bent alone on murder and destruction, ruthlessly dive bombed and blasted the American islands of Hawaii.

The awfulness of Japan's treacherous crime against the people of the United States will find no counterpart in the bloody annals of man's rascality.

The screams of men stricken down, the wails of widows newly made, the cries of

helpless children, dying, will linger in the memories of a betrayed citizenship long after the last Japanese gun has been silenced by an outraged humanity, aroused, at last, to the challenge this evil, oriental power has flung at the world.

Americans will not forget this indignity to which this crafty outlaw nation has subjected us.

Those who died in this murderous assault will be avenged. The punishment which an outraged humanity will impose will atone in full measure the cowardly crime which has been theirs to commit.

And those who have died in this first attack will not have died in vain. The mighty effort which will be ours, inspired, as it is, by their noble sacrifice, will crush forever the lust for power, the greed for self, the dreams of conquest, which have motivated this unholy attack upon the decent people of the world.

Victory will attend our arms, triumph will soon be ours, tyranny will again be swept from the face of the earth which it now defaces and disgraces.

So let there be unity, in our every thought, in our every deed. Let every man, woman, and child lend the strength of his or her individual might. With the Nation united, no force in this world can prevail against our brave soldiers, sailors, and marines.

Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this resolution. And to the success of our arms in the war that is to be waged I pledge my all, my life, my property, my sacred honor.

Mr. WOLVERTON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, our Nation, despite its every effort to maintain a peaceful relationship with the Empire of Japan, today is faced with the challenge of war. A war not of our own choosing, but a war that has been wantonly and treacherously thrust upon us.

Never in the recorded history of civilized nations has there been a parallel of the treachery and deceit evidenced by Japan in its unprovoked attack upon our outposts in the Pacific. It took advantage of the white flag of truce under which its emissaries were conferring with our own representatives, ostensibly to determine a treaty of peace, and struck a dagger into our back. The reprehensible and diabolical character of this act does not admit of adequate description and condemnation.

Commencing with the assault on China in 1931, the Japanese by deceptive maneuvers have pressed forward their aggressions in the Orient. While continually encroaching upon the rights of others, Japan has marked her real intentions by pledges of good faith to our own and the other western nations who have sought to protect the national integrity and territory of the weaker nations.

It is in keeping with this record of deceptive dealing that the emissaries of Japan in Washington should conduct "peace" negotiations with the representatives of our own Government up to the very hour that Japanese war planes dropped their death bombs upon an unsuspecting and sleeping populace in the American Territory of Hawaii. For at least 2 weeks preceding the bombing of American territory at Hawaii and other

points in the Pacific, Japan had undoubtedly been secretly making preparation for the attack. They took advantage of the time and opportunity that was afforded them by the willingness of our Government to confer in an endeavor to obtain a peaceful solution by making and perfecting plans to bring sudden destruction to our people and our defenses. However, there is no need to dwell further upon the perfidy of Japan. Its existence is plain and its record will never be effaced from the pages of history so long as civilization remains.

War is upon us. The need of the hour is for action. The duty of every American is plain. America will answer the call to duty with courage and unity. But do not let us make the mistake that our task will be an easy one. That is the way to fail. Our adversary has worked and labored for 10 years looking forward to the day it would challenge America. Unfortunately, we have helped them in their preparation for war against us. For many years Japan has received steel, copper, oil, and other manufactured products from us. We must now assume they have been turned into weapons to be used against us. Furthermore, to prosecute a successful war we will be called upon to wage it thousands of miles from our home base. This will have a tendency to delay and hinder a quick conclusion. We must be ready to bear early reverses like those suffered on Sunday morning, when hostilities were directed at several of our Pacific island possessions. It is natural that some early successes would result from the fact that our enemy struck suddenly and without warning. But we may rest assured that early success does not mean final success. America is aroused.

America is confronted with an enemy that is without conscience. It is resourceful and well supplied with the weapons of war. It is our duty by unity of thought, purpose, and action to bring defeat to this deceitful and treacherous foe at the earliest possible day. Whatever may have been the differences that have divided us in the past, there can be no division as to the desirability, the necessity, and the duty of attaining victory. Our cause is just. Our courage is strong. With God's help, we will win.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, this is a tragic hour for the American people. History will record it as a more tragic one for the peoples of the Japanese Empire.

Few men in America have the aversion to war and the desire for peace which are mine. There is no regret or bitterness in my heart because of my efforts for a peaceful world. Deep satisfaction is mine because of my modest efforts to bring our armed forces to the highest point of efficiency and coordination.

In destroying American lives and property and in violating our soil, the Japanese war lords have brought upon themselves the condemnation of decent peoples everywhere.

I have been a consistent opponent of this administration's foreign policy. For that opposition I make no apology. But the time for political differences is passed. We must unite. We must fight. We

must win. We must end this threat to our sovereignty and our citizens. The path to victory will be long and stony. We must condition ourselves for setbacks and reversals. We must prepare ourselves for our part in the formation of a just and peaceful world for the generations to come.

The plain, patriotic duty of every American is to offer himself for service during this war in any capacity for which he may be fitted. It is my intention to offer my services to the armed forces for the duration of the war.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, Japan has ruthlessly made war upon the United States. There can be only one answer for America to this inhuman act, namely, war with all our might and resources.

There cannot be, there must not be, any question in the mind of a single American citizen as to the ultimate outcome. Only complete victory over this treacherous foe can satisfy the American spirit of justice and liberty.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, as these words are written, the unanimous vote—except one—in both Houses of Congress for the resolution declaring a state of war to exist between the Imperial Government of Japan and the United States is still echoing and re-echoing through the Chambers and the corridors of the Capitol.

America tonight is stunned by Hawaii. It is amazed by Pearl Harbor. It is utterly without any explanation for what, on its face, appears to be an utterly inexplicable event. It is impossible at this time to find any explanation for what apparently happened, for it is impossible to know the extent and the effects of the shattering blow delivered so suddenly by the Japanese.

America had considered Pearl Harbor impregnable. Pearl Harbor was the pride of the armed forces of the United States. Pearl Harbor was the alert outpost standing strong as a Gibraltar between the United States mainland and the threat of the Japanese. So America had been told again and again and again. That was what America had been led to believe. It was what America had a right to believe.

Tonight America is certain of just one thing. We have been attacked. We are one people with just one determination—to subordinate every other consideration to the winning of this war.

The very immensity, the very mystery of the failure at Pearl Harbor to discover the advance of the enemy or adequately to meet his onslaught, cement together Americans of every section, of every creed, of every class, of every color, and every race behind the irresistible determination to keep freedom alive in our beloved land.

There must be some explanation for the stunning events at Pearl Harbor. There will have to be an explanation—sooner or later—and it had better be good.

Mr. Speaker, there is but one decision, regardless of everything else; that is to win this war as speedily as possible, as efficiently as possible, with the minimum loss of life or injury to Americans, both of the armed forces and civilians.

Recriminations could be indulged in. This is not the time for that. Accusations could be made. This is not the time for that. Criticisms could be leveled. This is not the time for that. The big job, the vital job, in this hour is to win this war as quickly and as decisively as we can. To do that, we must train, arm, and equip our forces. Nothing, nothing, must stand between the United States of America and her security. The most important thing in this world to the American people—and to the rest of the world—is the quickest possible triumph America can achieve in this war.

There is no necessity to analyze the vote in the House or the Senate on the war resolution. It spoke for itself. It spoke for that unity which now is America. From this time on, God help the individual or the group that seeks for selfish purposes to interfere with the Nation's preparedness.

Stunned as America is; righteously wrathful as America some time will be; amazed as America finds herself on this historic day, it may be said with perfect assurance that the soul of America does not quail; that the courage of America does not falter; that the capacity of America is equal to the task which confronts her.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, in the face of the totally unprovoked aggression of the Japanese Empire, every American joins in the determination to defeat this infamous attack. We were ready and willing to do everything within our power to bring about peace in the Far East. Long after our suspicions had been completely aroused by the inconsistency of Japanese activities and Japanese conversations in Washington, we tolerated and encouraged continued negotiations. Our hands are clean. The Japanese military clique must take the full responsibility for the war we have just declared in response to the action of Tokyo. Our people are united as they have never been since the days of 1917 in the determination to end the era of military threats, to destroy forever the insane Axis belief that might makes right. I deplore the necessity for war. But when war has been thrust upon our people I thank God that we are a Nation resolute and strong in the conviction that what we must do is not of our own choosing. We shall fight this war until victory has been won. When the struggle is ended we shall free the Orient from the horror of the past decade. I have cast my vote for war with Japan, confident of the judgment of the American people and of history.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, when the roll is called upon the pending resolution, I shall vote in the affirmative. To delay in making speedy and vigorous answer to the challenge from Japan would be folly and weakness. The testimony to unprovoked and premeditated attack is overwhelming. Vigorous action is imperative. Let there be complete unity of spirit and purpose.

There lies before us the task of defeating and disciplining by force of arms a nation that has violated every amenity of diplomatic intercourse. We face the task of overwhelming a nation which has displayed a complete disregard for the

virtues of fairness, decency, and sportsmanship. The President and Secretary of State have exercised gentleness, patience, and restraint in preserving peace in the Pacific. Their gentleness has been flouted, their patience mocked, their efforts trampled under heel. There remains for us no other course than to subdue and discipline the Imperial Government of Japan for this unwarranted and outrageous conduct.

It will be a grim, serious, and undramatic business. Let us discharge it grimly, seriously, undramatically. Let us not underestimate the size or duration of the task. Let us at the very outset kindle the determination, the sacrificial spirit and the unselfishness which will be requisite to this undertaking. In my humble way I propose to labor earnestly and diligently in the cause of complete and speedy victory. I am at the command of the Commander in Chief.

Mr. KELLY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Members of the House, on Sunday last our American soil has been treacherously attacked by Japan, killing many of our fine citizens, soldiers, and sailors, like a slimy creature crawling in the dark, it struck without warning and struck while negotiations were in progress for a hoped-for peace in the Pacific.

Having served in the last war, little did I think I would ever see this day come again in America; I had hoped for a peace, but you cannot deal in terms of peace with such people. Now that Congress has acted, the American people will stand united to destroy those who perpetrated this atrocious crime and caught unaware the fine boys of our Army and Navy. Our decision is clear. This was not of our making. We must fight with everything we have, that America may live.

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, 48 hours ago if someone would have said to me, "You will soon vote for a declaration of war against a foreign power," I would have considered that individual non compos mentis.

Since the outbreak of World War No. 2 I have consistently and conscientiously opposed and voted against every step which I considered was in the direction of our involvement in foreign war. I have proclaimed from the floor of this House, and from many platforms throughout the Nation, and over the radio to the American people that I would never vote to plunge this country into a war of aggression, and that only in the event of attack upon our sovereignty would I vote and support a resolution that would put us into a defensive war.

Mr. Speaker, like you and millions of our fellow Americans, I was shocked and amazed when the news broke yesterday that the Imperial Government of Japan attempted a dastardly and unprovoked attack on the Territory of Hawaii, resulting in considerable military and naval damage, together with considerable loss of life and injury to American citizens.

This attack is more reprehensible when it is recalled that it came at the very hour when conversations were being held at the Nation's Capital with the Japanese envoys and diplomats looking

forward to the continuation of peaceful relations between the United States and the Empire of Japan.

After our participation in the Spanish-American War of 1898 we embarked upon a colonial policy when we took over the Philippine Islands, and subsequently other outposts in the Pacific Ocean. Whatever the charge of imperialism attributed to us by these acts—and there was some justification for such charges—the fact remains that the Territory of Hawaii is and has been for years a part of our Federal Government. Its duly elected delegate sits in our Congress, and we legislate for the Territory of Hawaii, just as we do for the 48 States of our Union. In fact, Hawaii is known as our forty-ninth State, and considerable agitation has been going on for several years to have Hawaii formally admitted into our federation of States.

Today the President of the United States, in a joint session of Congress assembled, stated that an assault has been made upon our sovereignty and our honor and that the United States take up the challenge of the Imperial Government of Japan, which has formally declared war on us, after a vicious attack upon our property and upon our citizens, which is unprecedented in our entire history.

The President calls for united action on the part of the Nation. I respond to that call as a Member of Congress and as a humble citizen of the Republic in sustaining his appeal. And I shall vote for a formal declaration of war to avenge this cowardly act on the part of Japan.

Our war with Japan must not be construed as a war to protect the material interest of any other nation in the Orient. The insult that brings about this declaration of war is directed to our own Government. The full strength and the resources of the Nation should be employed to crush the cowardly military caste that rules the Nipponese Empire.

Just as I felt for the past 2 years that over 80 percent of our people were opposed to being involved in the blood business of Europe and Asia without just cause, I feel at this very hour that the same 80 percent of our people are united in full support of war resolution against the Imperial Government of Japan, in the light of the event that transpired during the past 24 hours.

This is the only war in which we are now officially engaged. May God be with us as we go forward to victory, and may the loss of life be lessened in the days to come, when our fine American soldiers and sailors must face the terrible ordeal of conflict. Interventionists and non-interventionists alike are now brothers in a common cause. We did not provoke this assault, and we have every justification in protecting our honor under the circumstances. A united America heeds the call.

May the Divine Providence assist us in securing an early peace with victory. At some future day when the warring powers of the earth once more sit around the council table to prepare a world peace, let us insist that the United States of America, founded on a Christian civilization, speak through its representatives at the peace convention as Christ would speak for the poor and distressed people

of the earth. It is a well-known fact the doors of the peace council at Versailles were closed to the God of infinite justice and mercy, with the result that practically all the civilized nations of the earth are once more engaged in the holocaust of war.

Our continuation as a world power should not be bound up with the role of a bully to crush the weak and the oppressed, but, on the contrary, should be sustained by example and assistance in encouraging the many and varied races of the human family to emulate our way of life. The way that has sustained us since the days of Washington, Jefferson, and the founding fathers, and that with the immortal Lincoln, governments of the people, by the people, and for the people may take root and blossom everywhere throughout the earth when the insanity of war has disappeared forever.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, so far as I have been able to find, history reveals no act of aggression and mass murder as dastardly, as cowardly, or as contemptible as the attack made by pagan, godless Japan on the United States and the Christian people of the island of Hawaii on yesterday.

It was not only cruel and unprovoked warfare against a nation that had befriended Japan for almost a hundred years but it was malicious mass murder of innocent men, women, and children, who were blown to pieces on the streets of Honolulu.

The resolution before us declaring that a state of war exists between the Japanese Empire and the United States ought to pass without a dissenting vote. It represents the will of the God-fearing, liberty-loving, Christian men and women of America, whose resentment is unrestrained by the most brutal and uncalled-for episode in the history of nations that even claimed to be civilized.

We ought to have no trouble now in subduing subversive elements in our defense industries. We ought not to have any trouble now in coordinating and concentrating every force, every power, every ounce of energy in the prosecution of this war until we drive these pagan hordes from power, reestablish peace in the Pacific, and avenge this unprovoked attack in such a way that it will be remembered for a thousand years.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, the message of President Roosevelt leaves but one course open to the Congress. It is our solemn duty to recognize the existence of a state of war with Japan, a state of war which that nation has forced upon us through its treacherous conduct.

An unprecedented act of perfidy has shocked all the people of our country into a full realization of the gravity of our situation. They have been brought forcibly to realize the danger of the unbridled and voracious aggressor, a danger which many failed to appreciate, despite the warnings implicit in the experience of the invaded and subjugated nations of the world during the past few years.

The people of this Nation are now united. We will remain united as free people. Loving peace and hating war as we do, we will face the challenge of

force and aggression. With all the strength of our being we will meet that challenge. We will add our material and spiritual might to the cause of the preservation of decency and liberty. We cannot with honor do otherwise. In this endeavor we will not, we cannot, fail.

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, the diabolically infamous treachery of the Japanese brands the race as never to have been and not now entitled to be trusted or treated as civilized. It confirms the judgment and wisdom of our forebears, who would and did exclude them from citizenship.

The coup of yesterday was Hitler inspired, and in it he cooperated.

In this crisis we should forego and forget party political expediency, personal opportunism, obsessions for pacifism, and everything else except our Americanism. Our liberties and our lives are attacked. They are at stake. I say consideredly that anybody who would not fight and vote to save and to protect both is, as I see it, irresponsible or a traitor at this minute.

If the coat fits, put it on, for it is the truth; and there can be no rational justification nor alibi for a vote against the resolution as it is drawn and which is to be adopted in behalf of our defense.

We should and will declare that a state of war has existed. Can anyone doubt it with at least fifteen hundred Americans dead at the hands of the Japanese? How can any sensible person vote against it? They cannot. It is an incontrovertible fact.

Unitedly and unanimously we must vote and fight for freedom from all those things for which Japan and Hitler stand. We will not win this war as speedily nor as easily as we could wish or, as some believe, but we will win. We must.

The hour we have tried to avoid and to evade has struck.

We go forward today on the road to freedom and unity at whatever cost or else backward, as we submit to Hitlerism, paganism, and serfdom. A vote against this resolution is a vote to put us all in chains.

I shall vote to declare that a state of war against Japan has existed since they so despicably and perfidiously attacked us while we were at their request considering their offerings for peace.

I shall vote to exhaust, if need be, all the power and resources of this country to the end that nobody ever again will undertake so perfidiously to betray us in order that, starting with a clean slate, having destroyed the enemies of civilization and Christianity, there may be wiped off the face of the earth those paganistic philosophies and all those concurrent evils for which Japan and the Axis stand.

I am ready to vote.

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, this is a fateful day which we have all sought to avoid. I am one of those who has earnestly and wholeheartedly sought to keep our Nation at peace. I have recognized our peril and have not only consistently supported every measure which I have sincerely believed was designed to protect and preserve our peace and national security, but have as consistently voted for every cent of ap-

propriations requested by our President for our own national defense. I have as consistently opposed everything which, in my honest judgment, endangered our peace and national security.

In our efforts to keep our Nation at peace, we have failed. History will record as academic truths the facts and factors which may have brought about this conflict which has been thrust upon us, but they are of no avail at this hour. The die has been cast. Our choice has been made for us. During the very hour in which so-called peace negotiations were being conducted in Washington, Japan launched upon our Pacific possessions and upon our nationals a most cowardly, treacherous, and dastardly stab-in-the-back attack. There can be no alternative but for us to declare immediately that a state of war has existed between Japan and these United States since the early morning hours of December 7, 1941.

Just as earnestly as we have all sought to maintain the peace, just so must we now all turn with that same fervor and whole-souled desire to defeat our enemy in order to maintain and preserve our American way of life. I have this day volunteered my own services and offered to the Navy a small cruiser which I have on the Potomac. We must all dedicate ourselves now to the common cause to bring about that victory we must have, that victory we will have, that victory which, with God's help, will come at the earliest possible moment. May God bless and protect America.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, at the break of dawn on December 7, the armed forces of the Empire of Japan attacked the lands and the people of the United States of America by sea and by air. The roar of guns from warships and the bombs from the air caused untold loss of life and great damage to property among the armed forces and citizens of this Nation. This came without warning, unprovoked, and without just cause. In all the history of mankind, I know of no more infamous act of treachery perpetrated upon a peace-loving people. We have always been untiring in our efforts to remain at peace and friendly to all nations. This treachery is such that the people of America will rise as one to strike back with vicious fury. Our President has officially advised us that because of this treachery and infamy a state of war exists between Japan and the United States of America.

As much as I abhor war and have done everything I could to avert that catastrophe to my people, we must all agree that the unprovoked treachery of Japan calls for full support of our President and our Government with an all-out united effort and sacrifice, to the end that the perpetrators of this dastardly crime shall be brought to justice. I fully realize that this will mean sorrow in many homes and blood, sweat, and tears. In America, the land of freemen, where the right of freedom means more than life itself, we shall carry on to victory for the preservation of that freedom that we hold so dear. The people of my district have always given their full share of sacrifice in any call to duty.

People of all nationalities have come to our shores, enjoying the rights of free-

men. Americans all, with love of country deep-seated in their hearts, will answer the call to arms. Men and women from all walks of life will rally to the standard of liberty. Those who don the uniform on the field of battle or on the high seas may rest assured that full and supreme sacrifice of those at home, in the fields, in the factories, the mills, the mines, the forests, the offices, from town, county, and city, will be given as fully and completely as is humanly possible. This Nation places at the disposal of the President of the United States, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, its property, its wealth, and the lives of its citizens in this hour of peril, so that liberty and justice will ring down through the ages in order that the civilized world will rid itself of such devilish technique.

All I can say in closing is that God be with us in this hour of peril so that America, the land of freedom, will stand gloriously for all time and that real civilization shall reign supreme in all the world.

Mr. Speaker, we have no choice. We did not want war, but war we have. This murderous onslaught can be met only with a complete declaration of war. The Congress of the United States, I know, will meet this in the constitutional way, and before we leave here this afternoon such a resolution will be passed. No matter what the sacrifice, victory will be ours.

Mr. THILL. Mr. Speaker, Japan has attacked the United States in a sudden outburst of gunfire and aerial bombardment. While the Japanese envoys were conferring with the Secretary of State in an effort to maintain peaceful relations, the fanatical war clique in Japan ordered warfare against the peace-loving people of America. The radio news flashes of war in the Pacific burst like bombshells in the homes of our people on Sunday afternoon. It was scarcely believable, hardly conceivable that Japan should wage war against our country. There was no threat of armed attack, no hint of violence, no break of diplomatic relations prior to Japan's sudden attack upon Hawaii and American possessions. Without warning Japan has loosed tons of explosives upon our property and our people. This has caused terrific damage to our Navy and our Military Establishments, and it has resulted in much loss of life. If only the military leadership of Japan had used reason instead of emotion. If only Japanese leadership had followed the will of their people for peace. If sanity instead of madness had been the watchword of the governors of Japan—there would have been no outbreak of hostilities between our two nations.

The United States has no other alternative than to recognize that a state of war exists between our country and Japan. We were attacked. Our citizens have been killed. Our property has been devastated. Our soldiers and sailors lie dead. Japan has declared war against us. Guam is under Japanese siege. Air attacks blast Hawaii and the Philippine Islands. Our warships and merchant ships suffer attack. All this means war. Insane, catastrophic war. Everyone in

the United States must recognize that a state of war exists.

Since it is Japan's avowed intention to fight us, we must fight back. An attack made upon us must be repulsed. We will take no abuse from any nation. The honor, the dignity, the institutions of America must be preserved at all cost.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, the infamous act of treachery committed by Japan against our Nation has aroused the fighting, unconquerable spirit of our people. I know that our armed forces, fighting in defense of our homeland and liberty will be invincible on land, on sea, and in the air. Our American boys can handle anything genius can invent. I know that industry and labor will unite as never before in one supreme effort to furnish our forces with the necessary implements of war. Once our military organization is fully equipped with guns, planes, tanks, and ships, we will, true to the glorious traditions of the past, carry Old Glory to victory.

Mr. CLASON. Mr. Speaker, I know that I am faithfully recording the determined will of every American citizen within the Second Congressional District of Massachusetts in voting this afternoon in favor of a joint resolution declaring a state of war to exist between the governments of the peace-loving people of the United States and the subjects of the treacherous, military despots of Japan.

At dawn yesterday, the war planes of the Mikado ruthlessly attacked our possessions in the Pacific, causing great loss of life, not only to our armed forces, but to our civilian population. By this wanton act of unprovoked warfare, carried out while the President of the United States was seeking to secure the continuance of peace in the Far East, the Japanese have aroused 130,000,000 Americans to a resolute determination to crush forever these arrogant Asiatic assassins.

The people of the United States are united, as never before, in the grave task which lies before us. We can confidently rely on the courage, the skill, and the fighting qualities of the men in our armed forces. We, the men and women of America, in the factories, on the farms, in every walk of life, pledge our every effort to our Army and our Navy that they shall bring victory to our cause.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, the sudden and ruthless attack by the Japanese against the United States possessions in the Pacific, has no parallel in history. At the very moment our Government was bending every effort to maintain the peace between the Imperial Government of Japan and our country through negotiation, and when promises and more promises were being made by their representatives that they desired peace, at that very moment, like a thief in the night, our American soil was attacked, leaving both death and destruction as a reminder that our enemy had started on its program of war against the United States.

As we now, with as much calmness as possible, view this "knife in the back" action, and realizing the careful premeditated planning necessary to carry out this assault on our bases in the Pacific, we face the fact that the challenge thrown down to us will and must be met. There is no choice for true, patriotic, loyal, peace-

loving, American citizens other than to follow our President in his request for the passage of a resolution setting forth that a state of war exists between the United States and Japan.

Our preparedness program has moved forward these last 2 years, implemented by huge appropriations made possible by the vote of many of us who were determined we should build up our defenses. These defenses are now needed and more and more must be added. The citizenry of our country as a unit, must now stick out its chin, roll up its sleeves and push forward in an all-out effort to meet this dastardly attack hurled into our very teeth. We will and must defend ourselves from those who would destroy us.

With a heavy heart, knowing what war is and can mean, I today join my colleagues in a vote for this resolution asked for by our Commander in Chief, the President. As one, loyal citizens of this country will heartily endorse the action of Congress today, all determined that cost what it will, we accept the challenge until victory is ours.

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, this is a day I have fervently prayed might not come but for which I have earnestly sought to have America prepare. The day is here and we must now meet the issue squarely, and with unanimity, and pledge the full resources of the Nation and its people to a successful prosecution of the war which we are about to declare in full confidence that under Divine guidance the best traditions of our Nation will be upheld.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Speaker, this is undoubtedly the gravest and most serious question that has come before the Congress during the 7 years I have served in this body. The request that the President has made comes after an unwarranted and deadly assault has been made upon the citizens of this Government by Japan. There is only one sensible position for this Congress to take: We must accept the challenge which comes from Japan in the form of the most brutal attack that has been made upon this Government during the existence of our country. This attack is a part of the program of the totalitarian powers in their combined effort to wipe out the possibility of democratic government and to establish in its stead abject slavery. The bloody struggle engaged in by Germany, Italy, and now Japan is a challenge to civilization itself.

I fully concur in the resolution which we have just adopted in compliance with the President's request and pledge the unbroken and continued loyalty not only of the First Congressional District, which I represent, but that of the 15,000,000 Negroes in America. This seems to be a struggle to the death, and will determine for years to come, and perhaps for all time, the form of government that we are to have in this country, and perhaps in the world.

I wish to suggest that in this struggle, as in all previous struggles, the Negro proposes to give and will give all he has, including his life, for the success of our effort to withstand Hitlerism. In view of the sacrifices which my group has always made and in view of the sacrifices which

we are bound to make in this struggle, let me remind the Congress and the Government that the Negro expects the same treatment under our so-called democratic form of government that is accorded all other citizens. He would be unworthy of citizenship in this country if he contended for less.

It is my hope that the contribution which we have always made and shall continue to make will cause those in power and authority and will cause this country to recognize the Negro as a full-fledged citizen. If he is good enough to die for his country, he should be given the largest and fullest opportunity to live for his country without any type of racial discrimination. We are loyal Americans, and you can depend on us to the last man.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker and ladies and gentlemen of the House, America has been attacked; America has been invaded; and America is speechless. A majority of the Members of Congress last week predicted war with Japan, but none of us felt or could conceive that it would come as it did.

Americans are a religious people; every belief and creed is practiced and protected under our form of government. While many Americans were returning from worship on Sunday the almost incredible news that Japan had invaded Hawaii and the Philippines stunned the senses and shocked the very soul of each of us.

Before this news was flashed to the world America was a sleeping giant, but now she is awakened, united, and determined that this shall never happen again. By this sudden stroke of the Japanese, coming during the stillness and under the cover of the darkness of the night, when soldiers and civilians alike were peacefully resting in their respective abodes, a divided America has been unified, a sleeping America has been awakened, and a peaceful America is at war.

History will never recall a greater or more infamous outrage. Tradition will never relate a more unwarranted or more premeditated assault. The vilest snake, the lowest animal, and the most ravenous bird of prey gives its intended victim some warning before it strikes. The Japanese failed even to exercise the impulse common to all other living creatures. The only warning they gave our peaceful and slumbering people was a burst of shrapnel and the howl of dive bombers.

Today thousands are dead and thousands are homeless; ships have been sunk and airplanes destroyed. What are we going to do about it? All Americans in whose veins courses the blood of our fathers demand war; every American under the protection of the Stars and Stripes demand action. Japan must be wiped from the face of the earth. She must never rise again. She must feel the same kind of misery that our people have been forced to endure. We must either surrender or fight. Our glorious history dictates our course. We must fight. We will fight. God being our strength, we are going to win. I for one will vote for a declaration of war against Japan.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Japan has attacked our Gov-

ernment and its people. They have succeeded in sinking some of our ships, destroying some of our planes, and have bombed and killed soldiers, sailors, and civilians. This attack was made under cover of darkness. It came without warning. It came while our President was still seeking a peaceful solution to the problems of the Pacific.

This attack along a wide-flung battle line clearly reveals that Japan, like the other Axis members, is bent upon world conquest and nothing will stop her short of superior force. The blood of our slain cry out of the ground for revenge. This is an attack upon a peaceful, liberty-loving Nation. This is an attack upon our country and its institutions. It is designed to conquer and enslave all the liberty-loving people of the earth. It will not succeed.

Every resource of this great Nation—material and spiritual—will be thrown into this conflict to destroy Japan. We must have unlimited production, uninterrupted by any means. We must toil and sacrifice. Yea, we must fight to win.

We are resolved by the help of God to see this conflict through to victory. It will be a victory for peace and decency; for freedom. We cannot fail in this our hour of destiny.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, speaking for the community I represent here in Congress, I have no hesitancy in saying that the unwarranted attack upon Hawaii, despite such temporary advantages as might have been gained by this indefensible conduct, will result in the destruction of Japan as a military power. Hawaii has suffered the first brunt of the enemy's unprovoked assault, but the loss of life incurred will harden our determination to rid the world of this menace.

I know my community will support to the utmost degree any decision arrived at by the Congress and the President of the United States for the successful prosecution of the war so unjustifiably forced upon us. If I had a vote in the House it would be cast in favor of a declaration of war.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, for the second time in my service as a Member of Congress, I have listened to the President of the United States ask for a declaration of war.

Never was such a request more justified than the one made today.

Our Nation has been attacked by a power with which we were, up to the very moment of hostilities against us, engaged in friendly negotiations to ensure peace. The cowardly and dastardly nature of that attack will not be forgotten throughout all history. We shall strike back in self-defense with all the resources at our command.

I wish to echo the words of other speakers that the time has come for action, not words. Already American lives have been lost, American ships have been sunk, and American property destroyed. The President, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, has promptly taken action to intercept and destroy the enemy. The people of the United States are behind him and can be

counted upon to do their part in seeing this unprovoked war through to victory.

No longer are we Republicans or Democrats, interventionists or noninterventionists, but Americans. Our past differences of viewpoint upon matters of foreign policy should be forgotten. All that matters now is the successful defense of America from this dishonorable and contemptible act of aggression upon the part of Japan.

I shall support the President's request for a declaration that a state of war exists and sincerely hope that the vote upon the resolution may be unanimous, so as to emphasize our unity of purpose and our determination to avenge the treacherous act of a professedly friendly power.

The occasion here today reminds me of a similar one nearly 25 years ago when President Wilson, addressing the Congress in an extraordinary night session, solemnly asked for a declaration of war against Germany. There are 15 Members of the present House who were Members of the World War Congress. I know the other 14 Members have wished as I have, that we would never be called upon to vote for another war declaration. I have many times said that I would never do so as regards our participation in any foreign war.

Today, however, we have had war brought to our own doorstep. The United States itself has become the victim of aggression. With the security of our Nation at stake, we must all undertake to defend it with our lives and with all the material resources which we possess. We did not seek this war with Japan, but if the Japanese mean to have it, let us show them that an aroused America is a force to be reckoned with and one that is determined to be victorious.

This is a solemn hour. The decision we must make is a fateful one, but there can be but one answer. When our flag is attacked we arise as one to defend it. God grant that victory may be ours and that it may come speedily and with a minimum of bloodshed.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Speaker, the soul of America has been stirred. The treacherous attack launched by Japan against our outposts in the Pacific has united the Nation in a common cause, and has welded it together in a common devotion. An unyielding faith is America's answer to Japan's perfidy.

As a people, we loathe war. We have been devoted to peace and have pursued every means for its maintenance. We have endeavored to banish hate in the world and have set ourselves to the encouragement of good will among men. Unafraid ourselves, we have contributed unselfishly to dispel both suspicion and fears among others. We have clung tenaciously to our ideals and have made them of a warp and of a woof which could have been woven into realities. Others have torn down the loom and despoiled the fabric. Fervent as have been our hopes for peace, they now give way to a grim determination. War has been forced upon us.

Today we draw our strength from a great faith for the tasks which we must

do and for the sacrifices which we must make. That faith will not fail us.

Mr. GAVAGAN. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, America awakened yesterday to find herself a victim of one of the foulest attacks in the history of this Nation. There is but one answer to this challenge, and that we shall give this day unequivocal language. This Nation closes ranks; no longer shall we hear the voice of the isolationists lulling us with the oft-repeated lullaby, "They can't attack us—the two oceans are our protector." Yea, we close ranks and in battle array go forth to meet this foul challenge; we shall not be deterred, please God, until this act of aggression has been avenged; we shall show the world we are not too proud to fight; that we are worthy scions of our sires who fought, bled, and died that we might live in peace and freedom.

Mr. Speaker, our whole country should keep constantly in mind as the guidepost for our action and our ultimate goal the motto of the great State of Virginia, that State that has given many great sons to the Union and the Nation, "sic semper tyrannis."

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Speaker, the fact is that the United States has been attacked by forces of the Japanese Empire. These attacks, not only upon our naval base at Pearl Harbor but on numerous other islands under our flag, and synchronized so as to occur simultaneously with other attacks over a wide range of thousands of miles in the Pacific, together with the sinking and capture of our merchant vessels, show that these attacks were deliberately planned.

The attacks upon this Nation were actually being delivered at the very time that the Japanese Ambassador and his colleagues were negotiating with Secretary of State Hull. It will be remembered that these negotiations were being conducted at the request of the Japanese, and there can be no doubt that the negotiations themselves were intended as a blind for the purpose of deceiving this country.

This Government has done everything in its power to avoid war with the Japanese Empire. The dastardly and cowardly attacks the Japanese have made are the most treacherous and infamous in all history. American blood has been shed, American lives have been taken, American ships have been destroyed, and American territory has been assaulted. Our Government and our people no longer have any choice in the matter. War has been thrust upon them. The only thing we can do is to recognize that fact and act accordingly.

All of the energy, all of the resources, all of the treasure of this country must be dedicated to the supreme task of defending our Nation.

Politics must be forgotten; factional strife must be buried in oblivion; friction over domestic issues must be obliterated. The United States is at war. We must conquer or perish. With God's help, we must fight until victory crowns our banners, whatever the cost in blood, in treasure, in anguish, or in tears, that liberty may retain habitation among the nations and that freedom shall not perish from the earth.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, this is a solemn hour, an hour when we must think clearly, speak frankly, and act deliberately. To declare war upon any nation is a grave act. There must be a reason that is beyond all doubt that differences cannot be determined by peaceful means.

I have been opposed to the United States interference in the political and economic life of nations in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa. I have maintained that America should stay in the Western Hemisphere to assert our authority, and then only when the conference table was no longer of use to nations. I wanted to use our good offices in America by the President, by the Secretary of State, and by the Congress to arbitrate differences for the Eastern Hemisphere. To the end that the conference table be used I have been zealous in extending our aid. Perhaps the President and the Secretary of State should have consulted the Congress during the deliberations in the past 3 weeks with the Government of Japan, but they were not disposed to do so, and now we find ourselves at war with the Imperial Government of Japan because she fired the shot against the Government of the United States in Hawaii Sunday, December 7, heard the world around.

Today we Americans are faced with a fact, a dreadful reality. A terrible crime has been committed by the Imperial Government of Japan in blowing up our ships, in bombing and killing our American people on the island of Hawaii. They have murdered in cold blood American citizens without warning. There is no other alternative but to declare war on the Imperial Government of Japan, and I shall vote "aye" on the resolution now before the House.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, we are about to cast the most important vote most of us have been, or ever will be, called upon to cast. We are about to do something that no other branch of the Government can do. That is to declare war. The Constitution in its supreme power gives to Congress the power and the responsibility of declaring war. I hope that I fully appreciate the weight of the obligation which is mine today.

The destiny of our country was prophetically stamped upon the Liberty Bell in the words from the Scripture:

Proclaim liberty throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof.

Our Nation has done more to bring that prophecy to complete fruition than any other Nation in the world. Are we to sit supinely by and allow the Goddess of Liberty to be torn from her proud pedestal and trampled into the dust by a nation which, just two or three generations ago, would be classed as barbarians and whose conduct on yesterday shows that they are still barbarians at heart?

Most of us are opposed to war. During the present emergency I have voted constantly against every action that I felt would lead us into war. My philosophy has been that we should stay as far away from war as possible. I felt, however, that should the time come that we would be compelled to go to war, either because of our unwise statements or conduct, or

because of the aggression of some other country, I would so conduct myself as that I could in fairness and in good conscience give my unqualified support to my country. I have never felt it the part of wisdom to have made any statement or any promise to the effect that I would not under any circumstances vote for war. On the contrary I have felt that since war had from the beginning of time been the accepted method of settling disputes between nations it would probably continue to be until the spiritual inclination of the peoples of the world had taken a loftier plane than that which they hold at this time. The action of Japan yesterday impels the most peaceful individual to the conclusion that it is not safe for any country to adopt a policy of complete pacifism.

I am proud that I have the honor to represent a law-abiding and liberty-loving constituency. I shall vote for this resolution because to do otherwise would be to outrage my own conscience and would be to fail to respect the wishes of my constituency. It is one thing to be a malicious aggressor and it is another thing to be a righteous defender. The fight for liberty has never been considered a battle. The fight for liberty is a war and the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. When I cast my vote in favor of this resolution I shall feel the full approval of Lincoln's words:

Let us do the right as God gives us to see the right.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has been invaded. The fact is clear. Any invasion of the United States, its possessions or its interests, is war. Consequently I shall support the resolution before us recognizing a state of war existing between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan.

We have tried to remain out of the World War. It is apparent that we cannot do so under present circumstances. Consequently I shall support this resolution.

Only with force can the invaders be repulsed. We will rise with a God-given strength and smite the invaders.

All of us will make sacrifices. The measure of our devotion will be these sacrifices. Let us all, united for the good of our country, prepare for and make these sacrifices for the continued good of our beloved land.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I think that our entire foreign policy in recent years has been fundamentally wrong, in that it has utterly disregarded the wise advice of Washington, Jefferson, and other founding fathers against foreign entanglements. I want the record to show, as it does show, that I have not, by any acts of mine contributed in any way or at any time or in any degree to what I believe to be this erroneous policy of world involvement. I have opposed, and whenever Congress was allowed a vote, I have voted against every one of these deviations from correct principles because I wanted America to remain free, strong, and independent, and at peace with the world. By no act of mine have I contributed to the deplorable situation that now confronts us. I shall be glad,

indeed, if in my capacity as a Representative of the people who have to suffer and die in war I may be helpful in accomplishing, at the proper time, a reexamination and revision of our foreign policy that will bring us back to sounder and safer ground.

As for the question presently before us, however, Japan already has determined what my vote must be. If the United States had not been attacked I would not have voted to declare that a state of war exists between our two countries. I have repeatedly pledged, and would protect my pledge with my life if necessary, that I would not vote for war unless America was attacked. But we have been attacked, we already are in war, and the declaration that a state of war exists is merely the statement of an obvious and patent fact which the authorities hold is necessary for defensive purposes. Out of a clear sky, without warning, Japan has wantonly, cruelly, and treacherously attacked the United States at a time when our Government was making pacific overtures to preserve the peace. American property has been destroyed, American blood has been spilled, American lives have been lost in an insane thrust at our vital lines when a hundred million Americans were hoping and praying for peace. It is a condition and not a theory that confronts us. It does not matter now how many mistakes may have been made in getting us into the war. The fact remains that we are in it, and we must look to the future, not to the past. Japan has declared war on the United States. By the resolution before us we are not putting our country into war with Japan. We are already in war, and no one knows how soon or from what quarter the next attack will come. Under these circumstances, what can we do and what should we do? We should do everything that is necessary to defend ourselves and to see that American lives and property are made secure. That is the first duty and obligation of sovereignty.

Mr. DOWNS. Mr. Speaker, the United States has suffered a severe loss through the foul attack of Japan yesterday. There can only be one answer to this attack and that is immediate action by Congress.

We must meet force with force and with a united front. We will carry through to victory. This war will mean much suffering and sacrifice, but America in this fateful hour is willing and unafraid. The tactics used by the Japanese are despicable and smack of Hitlerism.

Our President, with a great show of patience, made every effort to bring about a peaceful settlement of this Nation's controversies with Japan. He held out the hand of peace, but was rewarded for his efforts with a stab in the back under the cover of night. In this crisis I hope that he will have the support of every man, woman, and child in these United States. He is our Commander in Chief, and as such assumes the great responsibility of leading us through this struggle to victory. He will live up to the occasion.

Fully aware of the dark days ahead, I do not hesitate to vote for this resolution authorizing our President to employ the entire naval and military forces of the

United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial Japanese Government.

PUERTO RICO AND THE WAR

Mr. PAGÁN. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has been provoked and attacked by surprise and treachery by a deceitful enemy whose envoys were in our home speaking of friendship and peace. At this moment that our Nation meets the challenge I want to be on record before this great body, on behalf of 2,000,000 American citizens living in the American Territory of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico, where important naval, air, and military bases are being established, which are making of Puerto Rico a "Gibraltar of the Caribbean" and which is practically the American watchdog at the entrance of the Panama Canal, may be hit any time by the enemy. And I want to assure our fellow citizens of this great Republic that any enemy of the United States will meet in Puerto Rico with a people wholeheartedly faithful to this great Nation, and a tough and patriotic people as well.

On behalf of these 2,000,000 American citizens of Puerto Rico I can pledge the fortunes, the lives, and the honor of my people to fight and to die for this great country.

As the representative of the only Latin-American territory under the American flag, I hope that all Latin-American republics will back the United States of America in this great hour, when at stake is the security, the liberty, and the destiny of the whole Western Hemisphere.

Puerto Rico is sure that at the end the democratic forces of America will win the fight, which will be a victory for freedom and democracy for all mankind.

Mr. D'ALESSANDRO. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the American people will rally to the call of our Commander in Chief and unite to defend our Nation with all our might from an unwarranted, unprovoked, and treacherous attack by Japan. I deplore war, but the time has come when we must meet our enemy with courage and every resource available, and by an all-out effort we will be assured of success. I have faith that Almighty Providence will protect us, for our cause is a just one. This is not the time for speeches, but we must meet the challenge with action. All Americans must stand steadfast behind our leader. We must win. We will win. I have always contended that President Roosevelt was right from the start, and I will continue to support him 100 percent.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, it is a fearful responsibility to vote to take this great, peaceful Nation into war. I will not shirk my clear duty. My vote is to declare the existence of a state of war between Japan and this country. Honolulu is an American city. It is a city of peace and beauty, song and laughter. At dawn on a peaceful Sunday, when some men of our fleet and of our air force were on happy weekend leave, away from their battle stations, when others were asleep in their quarters, death rained from the sky—our ships were sunk, our planes destroyed, Americans were killed, without warning, and at the very time of this dastardly, atrocious, treacherous mass attack by the

air force of Japan, almost unparalleled since the Dark Ages, the hand of friendship was offered by their diplomats in Washington. Mr. Speaker, this Nation is at war. Japanese aggression has leaped at us across the broad Pacific. Isolationists have been proved wrong by the merciless logic of events over which we have no control. This is no time for braggadocio nor boastfulness. Uncertain hours, desperate days, grave dangers, a long and bitter struggle confront us, but in the end American sailors and soldiers will be facing forward and the rising sun of Japan will have set. It is significant that exactly 72 years after George Washington came Abraham Lincoln, and exactly 72 years after Abraham Lincoln came Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is our Commander in Chief in our hour of peril and a united Nation marches under his leadership. We have a rendezvous with destiny. Let us dedicate ourselves with heavy hearts and firm resolve to see this thing through. Mr. Speaker, it is not given to us to see what lies at the far end of the road. Yonder we see dictatorship aggression, 11 once independent nations crushed by Hitler, treachery, terror, death, but a united Nation under a great leadership with the help of God will sweep that aside and at the far end of the road we discern these words emblazoned in letters of living fire—duty, sacrifice, patriotism, civilization, liberty, democracy, peace on earth.

Mr. Speaker, the wanton attack by the Japanese naval and air forces upon our territorial possessions in the Pacific has united the American people most effectively.

We as a nation meet this challenge of war with determination that victory will be ours if forced to fight upon the seven seas and the five continents.

Although we were caught off guard, and only partially prepared for an offensive campaign against Japan, wisdom now dictates that this Nation devote all its energies to making this continent impregnable. We cannot do this, yet at one and the same time divide our armaments and scatter our forces.

Every gun and every ship will count from here on.

Every citizen must bend to the task of defeating the enemy. And in this task, we must all cooperate in the preservation of our own democratic institutions.

We have been attacked. We must now strike back, and quickly.

Let us not underestimate our adversary. Through our oil, steel, and junk metals, Japan has become one of the world's great powers. To subdue her will be a Herculean task. We of America now face a long, grueling period of blood, sweat, and tears.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD a public statement which I issued to all Philadelphia newspapers as soon as I received reports on the afternoon of Sunday, December 7, of the treacherous action of the Japanese Government. My statement follows:

We have been attacked in the most cowardly fashion.

Whatever my Government does to defend our Nation will have my support.

If the President is about to request congressional action, I hope and believe he will receive a united, patriotic response to his message.

Since making the above statement I have learned that the President will deliver his message to the Congress today, and I assume that he will request that the Congress adopt a resolution recognizing the existence of a state of war. Naturally I will support such a resolution wholeheartedly. The American people are united in a determination to put an end to international gangsterism. I know that however long and hard the road may be we shall follow it to victory.

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, there is but one answer that we can give Japan. The United States of America has been attacked. Japan has declared war on us. A state of war exists and we must meet the challenge that has been thrust upon us. The American people are ready, and, acting as a unit, will see to it that Japan receives the sound defeat that she deserves.

Casting aside every last vestige of decency, traitorous Japan, like a thief in the night, while her Ambassador and her special emissary were discussing peace terms with the Secretary of State, prepared for attack and planted her armed forces so that almost at the identical hour when her representatives were at our State Department she struck death blows and, after her surprise attack, declared war on us.

Although the Government of the United States, acting in all sincerity, sought by every peaceful means to reason with Japan, even resorting to pleas by our President to the Emperor of Japan, many Americans were skeptical of the sincerity of the Japanese, and events have proven these skeptics were right.

Japan has struck and struck hard at our military and naval stations in the Pacific. More than a hundred soldiers were killed and over 300 were wounded by Japanese airmen. More than 50 marines were made prisoners in China, and possibly 1,100 American workmen on Wake Island were taken prisoners. Civilians were killed by bombs and property was destroyed. One of our gunboats was captured and several of our warships are reported to have been hit by Japanese bombs. At least 1 Army transport has been reported sunk 1,300 miles west of California.

Naval experts say that from at least 10 days to 2 weeks were required for Nipponese submarines and other war vessels to get to the positions in which they were when they launched their attack. This is definite proof that the representations being made by Nomura and Kurusu were not sincere.

Our answer to this infamous outbreak must be quick and emphatic. The people of America, isolationists and interventionists, middle-of-the-roads and care-nots, workers and employers, rich and poor, strong and weak, all are now of one mind and are ready and willing to do all in their power to bring the conflict to a victorious end for the United States, and that at the earliest possible moment.

We are at war. There is no more time for arguments, and, furthermore, there is no room left for arguments. We must

now act and act quickly. Full speed ahead for everybody and in everything should now be our slogan. Victory our goal.

Mr. GILLIE. Mr. Speaker, Japan's cowardly attack in the Pacific leaves us with no alternative but to strike back with every resource at our command.

Americans are traditionally a peaceful people, slow to anger and slow to take up the sword. But this natural aversion for war should not be construed as weakness, for once aroused, once an enemy threatens our homes, our institutions, or our way of life, no people are more to be feared.

Mr. Speaker, the American people are aroused today—aroused and united in a demand for vengeance against our common enemy.

As a Member of Congress, as a Reserve officer, and as a plain citizen anxious to do my bit, I pledge my sincere, loyal, and unflinching support of America's defense against aggression in the Pacific.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, tolerance, the watchword of America in the present world conflict until a brief 24 hours ago, has been ruthlessly violated beyond any further hope of endurance. The unprovoked and cowardly attacks on outlying possessions of the United States in the Pacific cannot be expected to go unchallenged by the American people.

We are a patient and peace-loving people. Our national ambitions have long been far above the avaricious tendencies of the Old World. We have sought by every decent means to stay out of a world conflict from which no good can possibly be derived. We will not even now suffer a loss of our high ideals, but act to further strengthen them by dealing as only we can deal with international bandits, highwaymen, and thugs, who violate all decency and out of the dark assault us.

The attack on our Pacific possessions yesterday is an attack on our homes, our institutions, and our ideals which we are pledged to protect.

As an American I can see no reason why we should not fulfill a solemn duty to enforce that pledge of protection to our country. As a Member of the Congress I pledge my full support to whatever course of action is democratically determined upon to see this thing through.

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, the die is cast. We are at war. The Japanese, like murderous imps from hell, are clutching at our throats. We have struck back and will continue to strike hard, with every ounce of energy we possess, in the defense of our people and our homes. In this hour of greatest tragedy, involving our lives and our very national existence, we must be just, calm, determined, strong, and united. We are. Our people are slow to anger, but when great provocation and justice demands, they rise in their righteous might to strike with every fiber of their strength, buoyed up by the justice of their cause. We are united in this grim business of defending our homes against the treacherous double dealing of this foe, who comes to our very doors from afar, with the stench of hell upon his garments,

extending the olive branch with one hand, while with the other hurling death-dealing bombs upon innocent unsuspecting people. God, in His infinite wisdom, will visit the just retribution of the damned upon the perpetrators of this vile perfidy.

This great tragedy visited upon us by an unworthy foe has already brought death and destruction to our citizens going about their ways of peace. The homes and property and defenses of our people have been destroyed. We must and will fight to the last ditch to preserve America. No recourse is left to us but to strike back with all our power. Japan must be crushed. Her treacherous and dastardly attack on us, taking heavy toll in precious lives, while her impudent emissaries were mouthing false peace proposals to our President and our Secretary of State, will go down in history as one of the most diabolical events in the history of all ages. Japan's crazed war lords have become mad dogs loose in the world, ruthlessly destroying innocent people—first the peace-loving Chinese—now us Americans, who down through the ages have always befriended her. May we be forgiven for unwittingly furnishing to her much of the tools and implements of death and destruction she is now turning upon us, to snuff out the lives of our own people.

The only charge Japan can bring against us is that this great liberty-loving Nation has given material aid to the innocent Chinese in their heroic struggle to beat back the ravaging hordes from Japan, ruthlessly destroying their innocent citizens and their country. It cannot be overlooked that we at the same time also supplied Japan with much of the necessary materials needed by her to carry forward her conquest of this peaceful nation. We cannot confuse the issue now confronting us. Many of us gave a solemn pledge to our people that we would not vote to send our soldiers beyond the Americas to fight in foreign wars unless we were attacked. I made this pledge. I have maintained my pledge. We have now been attacked in the Western Hemisphere. We are fighting a war of self-defense. Japan has not only cruelly attacked us behind our backs while professing to plead for peace but she has actually declared war upon us.

I have done everything within my power, as God has given me the vision to see the way, to maintain our country at peace. Our efforts have been impotent to ward off the evil day. War has now been thrust upon us. It is not ours any more to decide. All that remains now is to defend ourselves. This we will do, with a prayer on our lips that God in His mercy and love, will soon bless our Nation with peace with all the nations of the earth.

Congress must not and will not, in this critical hour facing our people, fail to embrace the opportunity to pledge our full strength in men and resources to the grim task of beating down these hellish invaders spreading over the earth like a pestilence. In this momentous task—the greatest that ever confronts a nation, waging a war of self-defense—we will find no American holding back. We all will give in full measure our strength, our

devotion, our possessions, and life itself if necessary, to bring success to our righteous cause. We are now united in the one great endeavor which dwarfs all others—the defense of our firesides and our people. No one will halt or hesitate until these brown devils from over the seas have been crushed to earth and civilization saved from the ravages concocted by the diseased minds in control of this treacherous nation.

Our cause being just, we will win. Let us not, however, deceive ourselves. We cannot by swift blows crush these artful and clever geniuses of destruction. We must gird ourselves to face a long hard pull, and with the grim realization that the job will not be an easy one. It will mean reverses, hardships, privations, suffering, and death. Sacrifice, blood, and toil will be the price we must pay. In the end our cause will prevail.

Mr. Speaker, when the war lords and their henchmen who have brought this tragedy upon their people have been destroyed, a cankerous growth which is eating its way into the vitals of the nation will have been removed from the Japanese people. When that time comes—and God grant it may be soon—we in America will be the first again to lend a helping hand of fellowship to a contrite and penitent Japanese people and to help them to remove the murder stains from their blood-soaked garments, that they may again justly deserve the decent opinions of mankind and their country become again a law-abiding member of the family of nations and not an outcast, despised of men everywhere.

The tumult and the shouting dies—
The captains and the kings depart—
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include the following letters written by me today to the President and the Secretary of War:

The Honorable FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR COMMANDER IN CHIEF: As I go to the Capitol for the joint session of Congress, I believe I am justified in anticipating what is to happen.

It is my opinion that a declaration of war should be declared against, not only Japan, but Germany and Italy as well. My reason for believing that war should be declared against Germany and Italy while declaring it against Japan is that these states are all members of an unholy alliance, seeking world domination by brutal force; and there should be no further waiting in declaring our intention to crush that aggression in all its parts.

Before I have cast my vote for a declaration of war, I herewith tender my services in any capacity with the armed forces at any place and any time you feel that I might be of greater service than I am now as a Member of the Congress of the United States.

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH R. BRYSON.

Hon. HENRY L. STIMSON,
Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.

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Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH R. BRYSON.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, the first Japanese bomb that exploded on an unsuspecting Hawaii on yesterday blasted away all the hesitation, confusion, and doubt from the mind of America. It was from that moment on not a question what America would decide to do. The decision was already taken. The fires of destruction that were set by this same Japan in Manchukuo in September 1931 had run full circle round the world. The last great nation that had hoped it could cling to some sort of peace had been attacked. There was not a shadow of doubt about the aggressive nature of the attack. It had come at the very moment when the President was addressing peace appeals to the Emperor of Japan and when Japanese representatives were discussing with Secretary Hull their reply to American proposals for settlement of the problems of the Far East.

Millions of Americans had not believed such a thing would happen. They had believed the choice of war or peace was still theirs. But when the decision passed from their hands they were ready to meet it with all the determination and devotion of a united and intensely patriotic people. A hundred million people throughout the United States spent the afternoon and evening of Sunday, December 7, 1941, with their ears very close to their radios. And as they listened they began to realize that their world of that morning was gone and that they would be confronted on the next day with beginning the long and sacrificial task of building a new world on the wreckage of the ambitions of nations like Japan whose leaders place no limitations on the expansion of their power except the limit of military conquest which they could effect.

All that was yesterday. Today is Monday, December 8.

Acceptance by the Congress of the ruthless challenge of Japan and formal recognition of the fact that a state of war exists are foregone conclusions. The vote in all probability will be unanimous.

From that point on the manifold task of the American people will include the following:

First. To gather together the full strength of the Nation in order to bring the conflict, already joined, to as speedy and successful a conclusion as possible.

Second. To distribute the burdens as equitably and evenly among all our people as humanly possible—requiring of each a sacrifice commensurate with his ability to make sacrifice.

Third. To understand the causes of these wars, to see clearly they have come upon the peoples of the world because of the control of certain nations by groups which put their whole reliance in an arrogant and unconfined use of force.

Fourth. To cling to the fundamental values and ideals which have been the basis of civilization through all the ages and to begin even now the work of trying to bring the world back to them.

Out of the suffering and destruction through which the world must pass in the months and probably years that lie immediately ahead there must come certain forces of regeneration. They will be essentially religious and spiritual forces. For only that kind can survive a time into which we are heading. The sooner they begin to appear the better, for without them there will be hopelessness and despair. And hope is the one thing mankind cannot live without.

I do not believe that God has brought mankind to this time when there could be a full life for all human beings only to mock us and leave us to self-destruction. I believe there are scattered around the world men and women through whom these new forces of regeneration will begin to flow into the minds and hearts of men. Eventually they must find their way into the councils of nations, into the methods of doing business, into the rules that govern the distribution of necessary goods among the people.

It is for us to be alive and alert to these new forces, for we cannot tell from where they will come. But either this world and this life are no more than a mockery or else there will come the regeneration I am here predicting.

Two principal evils have brought this world-wide conflict upon mankind. The first of these is the ambition of selfish and arrogant men and the belief of certain peoples that they are superior to other men. The regenerative forces I have spoken of will strike down pride wherever they find it; they will level it to the ground; they will exalt the simple people of the earth on whom the full weight of this stark tragedy will fall.

The second evil that has brought this tragedy to the world is the failure of the leaders of the nations to provide the means of distributing an abundance of goods among all the people. For this lies at the root of the drive for living room, for foreign trade, for control of markets and of raw materials. The answer to this problem is the answer to war and the secure foundation for peace. Even as we seek to defeat the forces of wrong which have made war on the peace of the world we must address ourselves to this problem. Upon its solution depends the whole fate of future generations.

It is the solemn duty of every American in this hour to determine in his own mind where and how he can best serve. For not one person can be spared from the united effort. Somewhere there is a place for every one of us. And upon each doing his part will depend the success of the whole.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed pleased the Members of the House saw fit to grant unanimous consent to the motion made by the majority leader the

gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] in order that individual Members might have an opportunity to extend their remarks on the resolution by which the Congress declared a state of war to exist between the United States and Japan.

The speed with which this resolution was voted on, prompted by the desire of the American people to move with all possible unity and dispatch, frustrated by a few moments my opportunity to cast my vote in favor of the resolution. Had I been able to obtain transportation to Washington which would have brought me to the Capitol but a few minutes earlier, I would have voted for the resolution declaring us to be at war with Japan.

When the news of the treacherous Japanese attack on Hawaii reached me I was in Los Angeles and immediately made arrangements to obtain a place on the first available east-bound plane. This plane, a TWA stratoliner, left Los Angeles at 6 o'clock Sunday evening and carried me to Indianapolis this morning. I then proceeded via American Airlines to Washington, reaching the Capital Airport at 1:28 Monday afternoon, five minutes ahead of the plane's regularly scheduled arrival.

With me on the plane were my colleagues the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman McARDLE, and the gentleman from Kentucky, Congressman VINCENT, and through the splendid cooperation of the Metropolitan Police of Washington we reached the Capitol with the greatest possible haste. Our arrival proved to be mere minutes after the voting was concluded.

Although I suffered a personal disappointment in not having an opportunity to add another vote to the all but unanimous support given the resolution by my colleagues, I find great satisfaction in the knowledge that the Congress of the United States, as well as the people of the district I represent and the country generally, are firm in their resolve that our reply to the outrages perpetrated by the Japanese shall be the destruction of the forces that have attacked us.

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, we have before us for consideration House Joint Resolution 254, a joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same.

A few moments ago, assembled in this great Hall of the House of Representatives in a solemn joint session, there were present the entire membership of the other body and which also were present the Justices of the Supreme Court and the Cabinet of the President. We listened to a clear, straightforward, and convincing message from the President, which he concluded with a request that the Congress declare that a state of war exists between Japan and the United States.

It is a solemn moment in our history. Let us meet the issue in the same direct manner in which it was offered by the President.

Our vote should be unanimous. Our armed forces have been attacked, our island possessions have been fired upon, and our ships have been sunk. All of this from a nation with whom we were at peace.

For me, there is but one course, and that course requires that I answer the appeal of the President in the affirmative and pledge my wholehearted support, personally and officially, to the President during this crisis. This I will do. The American people shall do the same.

Our freedom of speech and expression, our freedom of worship, our freedom from want, and our freedom from fear must and will be preserved, so help us God.

Mr. COLE of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, 23 years ago today I was in France after two battles rejoicing with the men of my command and all others in uniform over the fact that we had just won the greatest of all wars—to end war. I returned a few months later to see for the first time my son, then 6 weeks old, who today, 23 years of age, wears the uniform of his country as part of the great and splendid army we have been training to meet any eventuality. I never thought in those days I would be called on to vote for a declaration of war as I intend to do in a few moments, but such is to be the unanimous decision of a Congress, which has done its best to prepare the United States to defend itself and at the same time has prayed and hoped its desire for peace would be absorbed by others throughout the world, thereby avoiding hostilities.

The conduct of Japan on yesterday serves to illustrate more forcibly than any other way we could devise the mistakes of the past, the needs of the present, and the great and noble accomplishments throughout the world which will be our objective in the future. I shall strive hereafter not alone to bring victory to our cause but, more important, to demand that no armistice shall be permitted to stop our onward march to a clean-cut victory, but surrender, and that alone, shall end this war. Our dealings in the future with those who seek peace at our hands must be by those whose hands are clean and above the table. Those representing our cause must be men who know what war is and also know with whom they are dealing. This course, and this alone, will assure the just reward our splendid Army and Navy will deserve when victory is theirs.

Mr. MOSER. Mr. Speaker, the momentous resolution before the House of Representatives for immediate consideration under suspension of rules, much as it is to be regretted, in my judgment was inevitable. Whether Commodore Perry was right in undertaking to bring to the heathen Nipponese the advantages of civilization, appears in the light of current events questionable.

From my earliest youth I recall the activities of the churches in my nativity, in sending missionaries to the land of Nippon to bring Christianity to all the world in keeping with the teachings of the Master. The degree of success is still questionable in the light of the un-Christian treachery of the most enlight-

ened of their Nation sent to this land of ours under the guise of diplomacy. From about 1909 forward it has been evident that very definitely the action we are about to take would be an inevitable consequence.

The action I will take today, and the vote I will cast in favor of the resolution, might the better been cast during the first session of the Seventy-fifth Congress, after Japan had launched her undeclared war on China and had bombed the U. S. S. *Panay*. "Sorry, sir! Excuse, please!" was as inadequate then and treacherous as the example brought home to us today.

The President of the United States with his Neutrality Act of 1935, operative, mandating him to impose an embargo when a state of war was found to exist between states, to my dissatisfaction, obviously could not recognize the then state of war existing but divested himself of his "quarantine speech" in Chicago, while under commercial treaty we continued to do "business with Japan as usual." Steel, scrap iron, oil, and gasoline continued to be exported—"business as usual." Throughout the early autumn of this year, we were confronted with the situation of an alleged gasoline shortage to American citizens as represented by Secretary Ickes, while Secretary Hull was still supplying shipments of the American product to Japan. I recall and preserved the cartoon of Secretary Ickes operating an American gasoline station, turning down the American customer, and Secretary Hull operating the pumps at a competing station "business as usual" to Japan.

When during the early months of the Seventy-fifth Congress, Ambassador Saito, after being introduced to Members of Congress by our former colleague, Congressman Wade Hampton Kitchens, of Arkansas, attempted to explain and justify his nation's attack on China as an act of discipline over a little riot at a bridge crossing, his palpable lying was that revolting, that in the presence of two companions I personally attempted something on him. He was seated at the witness table in the committee room where the gathering was held, while we occupied the elevated seats of committee members. From this vantage point I centered my gaze continuously on the back of his head and evolved in my mind constant disagreement with his falsity. He began to squirm and turn about to look whence the hostile reaction came, fawn an affected smile in our direction, stretch his long snake-like neck, and set his slant eyes at an angle, depicting the treachery of the reptile his craning so aptly typified. My companions, knowing what I was about, can bear witness to the reaction of the subject on which it was centered. It was then that I became fully reconciled to the inevitability of the action we are compelled to take today, and I was ready for it then, and deeply regret today that it was not taken then, and before the dire consequences that force it upon us now.

Mr. Speaker, I have frequently found myself in disagreement with the foreign policy of the administration and have so voted in opposition. Now that war has

been both declared and waged upon us by treacherous attack, when the emissaries of the slant-eyed Nippons deceptively sought to allay suspicion until ready to strike in attack, sought to continue conversations to and throughout the very moment and after the attack had been actually made, beggars description. I am therefore prepared and ready to give my country the last full measure of devotion and assistance to the successful prosecution of this war to its effective and successful conclusion, pledging the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, the best service of which I am capable. The stirring words of Patrick Henry, "Is life so dear, is peace so sweet, to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God. I care not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death," thrill me today as when first to grip my fancy in youth; and then supplemented by Stephen Decatur: "My country, may she ever be right; but, right or wrong—my country."

Mr. CAPOZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, under date of November 14, 1941, and by way of setting forth my position on the Senate amendments to the neutrality law, I stated it as my opinion that we were then witnessing a crisis in Japanese and American relations. Although I was so convinced, little did I believe that the break in these relations was to come in so unexpected and treacherous a manner as we now know.

Despite the earnest efforts of our Government to avoid hostilities in the Pacific, the Japanese forces, without warning, have invaded American shores. They have taken numerous American lives and caused great destruction of property. These outrages were committed by a country which, at the very time of their perpetration, was falsely representing itself as desirous of continuing peaceful negotiations.

It is my firm opinion that nothing else that might have happened could have been more effective in convincing America of the dangers confronting it in the world today and of the necessity for complete national unity. This unwarranted Japanese invasion of American soil, located thousands of miles from Japan, is the answer to the questions of many persons who have been heretofore honestly perplexed as to the course that America should follow.

We now know the truth. There is only one course left open to us, unless we wish to surrender. That course is for a united America to strike back hard at the invader and, moreover, to take all the necessary steps to assure ourselves, so far as we can, that no similar outrage shall ever again be perpetrated against us.

With full appreciation of the consequences which will necessarily follow the adoption of this joint resolution, and with a perfectly clear conscience, I find it necessary to vote for it, as it does nothing more than recognize the existence of a situation thrust upon us and which we know exists, much as we would like it to be otherwise.

Mr. SCANLON. Mr. Speaker, America today faces one of the most serious pe-

riods in our history with but one decision which can be made. We must speak here in the House of Representatives without a dissenting voice to grant the Government of the United States the powers necessary to avenge the brutal attack made yesterday on our possessions and on the lives of our citizens, both military and civilian. We have not asked for war with Japan; neither have we sought it. We have done everything within our power for 10 years to appease Japan. We are a peaceful Nation, but when a Nation presuming friendship with the United States and professing to honor that friendship attacks not only our life line of vital industrial supplies, but our national as well, we can become as belligerent and as fierce as is necessary to achieve inevitable victory over our treacherous enemy. Mr. Speaker, once before in my lifetime the very foundations upon which the freedom of this Nation is established were threatened with destruction. I am proud to say that in that grave hour I was able to serve my country and my flag. I was able to see at first-hand the ugly side of war. I am not unmindful of that ugly side of this war, neither am I unmindful of the sacrifice which those behind the lines will be called upon to make, but our freedom would be worth nothing to us unless we have the courage to make those sacrifices. Casting a vote in favor of a declaration of war against the Japanese Empire is something I am doing with firm conviction, but with a heavy heart. I have an only son who today is the same age as I was in 1917. He is ready to serve his country in whatever military or naval capacity he is needed. Since the deadly dive bombers of the Japanese Empire dropped their loads of destruction and death on United States territory a number of my friends and constituents have called me seeking advice whether to enlist or await the call under the draft machinery which has been set up by Congress. These people are typical of every citizen in the Thirtieth Congressional District of Pennsylvania. I know that every person in that district, I might even say that everyone in the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, will back up the votes that my colleagues and I make today in support of this war resolution. I say to you, Mr. Speaker, and to the Members of this House, that without reservation my constituents feel that no sacrifice is too great to make to achieve a victory over the enemies of the United States of America.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, in a few minutes we as representatives of the American people will approve this resolution for a declaration of war as our answer in ringing terms to the dastardly attack on this Nation last Sunday by the warmongering aggregation of Japanese militarists in the name of the Empire of Japan.

Already the flesh and blood of hundreds of American fathers and mothers have been sacrificed through the treachery of a nation who violated all civilized law in attacking this Republic while here in the Nation's Capital spokesmen for both Governments were attempting as peace-

ful nations to arrive at a mutual understanding of the differences involved.

On October 15, last, I returned to the House of Representatives after a 45-day tour of duty with the Pacific Fleet. During that time I was attached to the staff of Admiral C. C. Kimmel, commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, based at Honolulu.

During this tour of duty and in my capacity as a lieutenant in the United States Naval Reserve I was given the opportunity to become personally acquainted with the officers and men of the Pacific Fleet and to observe the United States Navy in all of its splendor. Yesterday the Imperial Government of Japan through its cowardly attack shocked the conscience of nearly every nation and inflicted, we are told, heavy losses on our Pacific Fleet and civilian population in the vicinity of Honolulu.

Let me assure you, Mr. Speaker, that the injuries inflicted by the Japanese on the Hawaiian Islands last Sunday will be avenged a thousandfold and that history will record that the Japanese Government through its warmongering clique of militarists will pay dearly for their suicidal excursion to our Pacific possessions.

Mr. Speaker, the might and majesty of the Pacific Fleet have since been translated into action while the American people united as they were in the days of 1917-18 are prepared to see this fight through to victory regardless of blood or tears.

This is no time to quibble. Our Nation has been attacked. What are we waiting for?

Let us at once declare war on the Empire of Japan and all other nations who are aiding and abetting this yellow peril to the American way of life that has already murdered in cold blood our own fellow Americans.

Action—not words—are necessary. Forward, America. With God's help we will atone for every American life that has been taken by a rousing American victory.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, this resolution, recognizing the state of war which Japan has precipitated and giving the President the war powers which were given to President Wilson in 1917, has my wholehearted support. I urge its immediate and unanimous adoption.

I have opposed the steps our country has taken toward war. I have supported the steps our country has taken to prepare and protect itself if war should come to us. I have urged that we should continue our peace efforts at the same time that we continue our defense efforts. I had high hopes for our peace efforts in the Pacific. It is true that I have felt that this effort should have been made long ago. On June 29, 1939, before the war in Europe had started, but while the China-Japanese struggle was in progress, I said on this floor:

I think we are making a great mistake in trying to determine our possible conduct in a future war in Europe before we determine our present conduct in a present struggle in the Orient. We have let our excitement about what may happen to our remote interests in Europe blind us to what is happening to our immediate interests in the Orient, where our

treaty rights are being violated daily. We should stop arming Japan instead of planning to arm Europe.

If we had followed this course the story of the last 3 years might have been different. I have felt for years that the whole chain of events that have led up to the present world-wide reign of terror and lawlessness began when the Japanese entered Manchuria in 1931 and the democracies of that day failed in their obligations to each other and to the world. I had hoped that the beginnings of a new reign of law and order might come through the restoration of peace and justice in the Orient through the efforts of the very nations which had failed in 1931. I knew that the negotiations between our country and Japan were difficult and that there was a possibility of failure, but I never conceived of the black perfidy of the Japanese war lords, who used the very period of our patient efforts for a friendly settlement to move into a position for attack.

Regardless of what we have done or failed to do in the past, war has come when we were trying for peace. It is our war now. The first news is shocking and discouraging, but if our Navy is as good as our officials have told us it is, the Japanese will soon learn the hard way that treachery and terror will not work with Americans. We can be fooled sometimes, but we do not scare easily, and when our friendship is betrayed we can be terribly tough.

By this vote today America assumes world leadership in a world-wide struggle for a just peace. We will never turn back. We are determined to preserve our freedoms here. We will discuss how to win, but never whether. Our united loyalty is pledged not to a hatred, not to a man, but to an ideal—to bring peace on earth for man of good will, and to fight for that ideal.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, I agree emphatically with the sentiment expressed here today by the majority leader the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack] when he said, "This is a time for action, not words." I simply want to record here my conviction that the Japanese attacks upon America have brought a challenge to America which calls upon us to vote an immediate declaration of war upon Japan in conformity with the President's recommendations and which compels us to devote our full energies, without delay, to the repulse and defeat of the dastardly forces which have struck at us from the darkness of the night in the early hours of a peaceful Sabbath.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I urge this House to unite as one Member in casting a unanimous vote in favor of the declaration of war which the President has rightfully told us has now become an inevitable course of action which must be followed. Let us follow it with all factions and parties marching shoulder to shoulder with grim fortitude so that peace can come more quickly by making victory easier. The full strength of a united and determined America must and will be devoted to crushing those

who committed this revolting and treacherous attack upon American soil and American lives.

I have been one who has hoped and prayed that America might be spared the shooting sacrifices of this cruel war. But, as I stated in an open letter to my constituents on November 3, "as God gives me the strength and knowledge, I shall do my best to help conclude the war in such a way as to preserve our American destiny should men or events unhappily force America into the bloody holocaust." The Japanese by their unwarranted and stealthy duplicity made our course clear in the early morning hours of December 7.

While there may be some reason to wish that our administration had pursued a less provocative foreign policy while we were perfecting our own defenses, there is nothing which can remotely justify the jackal attack of the Japanese which was made at the very time their official representatives were presenting protestations of peace to our State Department. Let the Congress and the country, therefore, join today in a mighty and unceasing drive to defeat these forces of evil and to help reshape the world so that once again God's Sabbath can become a day of worship rather than a day of launching crusades of wanton and wicked destruction. By our quick and united action now, let us show the world that our peaceful Republic is not one to be frightened or foiled by disciples of militarism. By resolute and determined action let us today warn all other aggressors that, while America is reluctant to enter war, she is also impossible to stop until her honor and interests are fully vindicated. Mr. Speaker, America seeks no aggrandizement, but she succumbs to no threat of aggression.

Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart but with a clear conscience and a firm voice that I urge this House to pass the declaration of war now before us with the clear recognition that there is no other honorable course open to us and that nothing must be permitted to delay the day when this task can be completed in victory.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, it has come—the war which for so long we have been seeking to avoid. It came with cunning suddenness and terrible force. It came after long negotiations and at a time when representatives of the Imperial Japanese Government, professing friendship and a desire for peace, sat at the counsel table of our own people, discussing methods of averting bloodshed. As the first streak of day fell upon the broad waters of the Pacific, the war planes and the battle craft of the Empire of the Rising Sun roared out on their fateful mission toward our naval base at Pearl Harbor.

The story of death and destruction which have been visited upon the quiet city of Honolulu and upon our defenses is being brought to us in every message which comes from our island possessions. The shock of the first dastardly attack is over and America is now collecting herself. Our flag has been fired upon and our institutions are menaced. Discord

and division have left us; and in its stead our people find themselves resolute in the firm, unfaltering determination of protecting our land, our democracy, and our liberty.

This, of course, means force; force to the utmost; force which will crush the Japanese Fleet and drive this pagan power from a Godly world. But America is prepared for this sacrifice and to this end we pledge ourselves and every power and resource of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I have prayed God that this day might not come and that this Nation might be spared the blight of war. In this matter we had no alternative, even had we sought to avoid war at the expense of our own honor and decency. The gage of battle has been thrown to us, and we fight for our very existence and that of our homes and our families. In such a struggle we cannot fail.

Mr. IZAC. Mr. Speaker, I have always spoken against resorting to war as a national policy. During the past 5 years, as a Member of the House of Representatives, I have most consistently supported the President of the United States in what I believed were those steps best calculated to keep us out of war and at the same time to secure for our country the respect of our international neighbors.

Foreign relations have no mathematical rigidity. Directing a nation through the maze of conditions and situations that are constantly in flux requires a master hand at the helm of government. This we have had. And if the exercise of patience and discretion had received its just reward, we would not now be faced with a state of war.

After the events of yesterday there should be no longer any doubt as to the character of the fight that is being waged against us. A pagan philosophy, championed by the greatest war machine of all time, is sweeping the earth and leveling all the standards of honor and decency by which men have attained to their present stature in the eyes of God.

The question for us to determine here today is whether it is best to rise in defense of our civilization or to permit our Christian philosophy to succumb before the onward march of tyranny; whether it is our duty to try to preserve our precious liberties by fighting back against the murderous onslaught of the invaders or to sue for peace and accept the destiny totalitarianism has in store.

I cannot conceive that any of my people should be in doubt as to my decision. With them I say the liberties we Americans enjoy, the things we love, are so well worth preserving that we are ready to fight to retain them. For "liberty is not only a heritage but a fresh conquest for each generation."

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, the resolution before the House reads as follows:

Whereas the Imperial Japanese Government has committed unprovoked acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and the President is

hereby authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial Government of Japan; and, to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

The adoption of this resolution is the only brave and honorable answer that this House can make to the unprovoked attack made upon us by the naval and air forces of Japan on Sunday morning, December 7, 1941. This premeditated, deliberate, and cowardly attack upon the people of the United States by the assassins and bandits of the Pacific was deadly because it was treacherous and succeeded because it was unexpected.

The attack was planned and carried into execution under the smoke screen of pretended negotiations for a peaceable settlement of the differences between this country and Japan. While the Japanese diplomatic representatives in this country were carrying on discussions looking to a peaceable adjustment of the Asiatic situation, the armed forces of Japan stealthily crept to the attack.

Japan has long been a constant threat and menace to the peace of mankind. Her aim is world dominion. If she is permitted to seize the natural resources of Asia—oil, tin, copper, iron, rubber, and other strategic war materials in which that great continent and the islands of the Pacific are rich—and if she becomes the master of the manpower of that vast region, she would control limitless war-making materials and be in command of one-half the population of the globe. Thus armed and equipped for conquest, the Japanese could and would force a black-out of civilization and Christianity throughout the world. If she is permitted to succeed in her godless, overleaping, and limitless ambition, mankind would, for centuries, bow beneath her ruthless might.

The right of self-defense is the first law of nature. The adoption of this resolution is imperative and is demanded in the name of our national defense. The blood of assassinated, butchered American heroes cries to us from the ground. The anguished hearts of their loved ones shall not appeal to us in vain. In the defense of our freedom, in the defense of our national existence, in the defense of our homes and loved ones we shall avenge their deaths. By this declaration we place behind our armed forces on sea, on land, and in the air the marshaled might of our 132,000,000 people. To the ultimate and overwhelming victory of our armed forces we pledge, as did the patriots of old, "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

In the words of Stephen Decatur, we say again:

Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!

This resolution will be adopted as a pledge to our people that our country will remain forever free, and its adoption serves notice on our enemies that we intend to fight until victory overwhelming and complete has crowned our efforts.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, for the second time during my service in this House it becomes my painful duty to support a resolution taking the United States into war. I am the only Member still serving in Congress who, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1917, voted for the resolution declaring war against Germany.

Since my childhood I have been against war and oppression, and when the first World War was over I strongly supported the efforts of that great humanitarian, Woodrow Wilson, to bind the nations of the world in a pact to outlaw war. If the politics and personal grudges of some Members of the Senate had not kept the United States from becoming a member of the League of Nations then, we would today find a world free of war. It is so evident now that if the League of Nations had been a potent body the long series of aggressions that have culminated in this war would have never occurred.

I quote from a speech I made on this floor on March 18, 1938:

I am confident today, beyond all doubt, that had the United States joined the League of Nations it would have strengthened and preserved the League in full vigor and effectiveness and we would not have present-day conditions, with all democracies of Europe either destroyed or on the verge of destruction. I still believe that under the terms of the League Covenant we could have precluded the mad rearmament race by close adhesion to and renewal of the provisions of the Washington Arms Conference after the 10-year limit, to the lasting benefit of all civilization. At the conclusion of the Washington Arms Conference the United States felt fairly easy; and it was only our absence from membership in the League that led first Germany, then Italy, and, shortly thereafter, Japan to withdraw from membership in the League. Then trouble began. The plot thickened. Now we have the fruit.

I have declared on many occasions that if the United States had entered the League of Nations, due to our tremendous moral and economic power, it would have been possible to prevent war by economic sanctions. When the present conflict is over I hope we shall not make the same mistake in not performing our duty and taking our part in the establishment of a durable peace.

Some Members of Congress and certain sections of the press have permitted themselves to be influenced or blinded, and have refused to see clearly the danger which was confronting our country. Only the shock of an actual attack by these little yellow rats has finally opened their eyes. Now they know that even while bland Japanese liars told typical Japanese lies, posing as emissaries of peace, the war-drunk midgets they represent were seeking their airplanes and ships to attack our outposts.

Those who mislead our people, imposing upon them a propaganda manufactured abroad, attempting to lull them to sleep by charging that no nation had other than friendly feelings for us, may now see what a crime they have been guilty of. They assailed the President; they belittled his every statement. They shouted him down when he spoke of the

dangers threatening our Nation, and by every act sought to block his efforts.

I hope that not a single American will again charge that our President was endeavoring to throw us into war. The cable he forwarded last Saturday to the Emperor of Japan, appealing for peace, is characteristic of the humility he showed in previously addressing Hitler and Mussolini and beseeching for peace. It shows how far he would go for peace.

Until a few days ago the appeasers challenged the President to submit the question of war to Congress. Today he did so, and the people, through their duly elected representatives, have shown their will.

I know the hardships, the trials and tribulations, the loss of life, and the great sufferings of war. To embark upon war is a serious step for any nation to take. Still there is nothing for us to do now but to go to war and as one man we must defend our country, its freedom, liberty, and independence. We can do that only by defeating the Axis Powers, by slapping down this presumptuous nation across the Pacific, and by bringing the fear of God to Hitler and Mussolini and all the bloodthirsty, power-seeking, ruthless outlaws surrounding that unholy pair.

And we must not forget that the future shall hold punishment for those who have embarked the world upon a bloody war. Let us not make the mistake we made after the last war, when we heeded the misguided who insisted that Germany had been sufficiently punished. By our own fault and lack of foresight we permitted that country to arm and train and prepare for the present war.

A nation or combination of nations which has tried, by lies, intrigues, subterfuge, and propaganda to mislead us, divide us, and then strike us when we were unprepared is not entitled to lenience. Such a nation should be so completely crushed that a repetition of its dastardly crimes will forever be impossible.

As the President has stated, with the help of God we shall soon demonstrate that treachery and unprovoked murder has its just reward.

Great Britain, Russia, and China are at our side. Those nations will not forget that we fight their battle as well as our own. South America, and in fact all liberty-loving nations of the world, will strive to help us, in our supreme effort to defeat the Axis dictators, to restore democracy, and to bring justice to those who by their crimes have plunged a world into blood and war.

Mr. GUYER. Mr. Speaker, with the cowardly attack upon our Pacific possessions by the Japanese, there is but one answer—that answer is war. I have opposed what has been called the President's foreign policy because I was convinced it would lead to war. That is water over the dam. Our country has been brutally attacked by a foreign power, so it matters little at present just how it started. It is here, and the only course is to forget our differences for the present. There will be time for argument after we have finished this job with the Japanese and their allies.

To this task we should dedicate all our energies, all our strength, all our wealth, all our wisdom in one great crusade for the cause of those who believe in free institutions and fair play and honor among nations. To the issue of that crusade there can be no doubt, for on that proposition we have a united people who know, no doubt, of the justice of their cause nor question of the integrity of their purpose. There is no defeat for such a people.

Mr. SHANLEY. Mr. Speaker, there is but one answer to the situation which confronts us—the verse of the brilliant Guilford, Conn., poet, Fitz-Green Hall-leck:

Strike—till the last armed foe expires;
Strike—for your altars and your fires;
Strike—for the green graves of your sires;
God—and your native land.

Mr. CHAPMAN. Mr. Speaker, through the centuries idealists have dreamed, saints have prayed, and poets have sung that there would come an endless epoch of universal peace, as described by Tennyson:

When the war drum throbs no longer,
And the battle flags are furled,
In the parliament of man,
The federation of the world.

That is a beautiful dream, a sublime ideal, but there has been little, if any, change in human nature as the human race has staggered through centuries of recorded and unrecorded time. Until such attributes as avarice, covetousness, greed, envy, jealousy, selfishness, malice, cruelty, inordinate ambition, and lust for glory, power, and wealth are purged from the hearts of people composing the nations of the earth, overnight a covenant may become a rope of sand and a treaty a mere scrap of paper.

After hundreds of years of struggling and battling, suffering and sacrificing, for liberty, democracy, and justice; after 2,000 years of the march of Christianity and teaching of the doctrine of the Prince of Peace, "On earth peace, good will toward men," the things we hold most dear, our priceless liberties, our most cherished institutions, our soil, our citizens, are the object of direct attack by the most brutal, treacherous, ruthless military power that has ever cursed the earth, Adolf Hitler and his bloody alliance with Italy and Japan.

When the tocsin of war was sounded in Europe, many of us thought at first that perhaps it was only another of those European brawls which have occurred, as the eloquent Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge said of fires, "with constantly recurring periodicity." We did not have sufficient imagination to visualize that the slimy sewer rat Hitler could menace the peace and safety of civilization, conquer Continental Europe, and threaten ominously the subjugation or destruction of the remainder of the world. When he made promises of friendship tonight and tomorrow at dawn moved his iron legions, his panzer units and armored tanks, into countries that were following the quiet pursuits of peace; with bombs and torpedoes attacked unsuspecting peoples; destroyed cathedrals and museums of art that represented a thousand years of ac-

cumulated culture; slaughtered old men, women, and children, I quickly realized that no nation could be safe and no people could be permanently free until Hitler and his Italian and Japanese military marionettes are rendered utterly impotent and their power is totally destroyed.

The danger to institutions that are the precious heritage of English-speaking peoples in Britain and America was vividly illustrated when, on the same night, Westminster Abby, the symbol of faith, and the House of Commons, the symbol of representative government, were badly damaged by Hitler's bombs. Not only are our institutions menaced by this militant coalition of ruthlessness and murder, but at dawn yesterday, on the holy Sabbath, while our wise and peace-loving Secretary of State was striving to preserve peaceful relations with Japan, while their diplomatic representatives were still holding out delusions of hope that peace might be preserved, the Navy and air force of Japan made an unprovoked, premeditated, treacherous, destructive attack on the land and the armed forces of our country.

In this critical hour, as the representatives of an outraged people, duty requires that we accept the challenge, assert our inherent, God-given right and duty of self-defense, recognize the state of war imposed on us by Japan, and pledge all the resources of America to the winning of the conflict. There can be no alternative. Let it be: "War to the knife, and the knife to the hilt."

In this crisis we must have unity of thought, unity of sentiment, unity of spirit, unity of purpose, unity of action. This is no time for arguments between reactionary and progressive Republicans, between conservative Democrats and New Deal liberals. No, there is no time now for differences between Republicans and Democrats. There is no place in this Republic for any "isms" except pure, unadulterated, undefiled, and unterrified Americanism.

Now has come the time for action;
Lay aside all thought of faction,
Call the roll.

Let us be imbued with more of the spirit that characterized Admiral Farragut, who, a few years after the War between the States, while cruising in the Dardanelles near to the palace of the Sultan of Turkey, sent word to the Sultan that he would like to visit him. The Sultan sent back the message:

I will receive no one unless he be a prince of the blood royal.

That stirred the fighting blood of the old Tennessee admiral, who sent this reply:

Tell the Sultan that I have on board my flagship 600 American citizens. Every one of them is a prince of the blood royal in his own land. We expect to visit him in force immediately.

Needless to say, they received a royal welcome from his Sultanic Majesty. That spirit should permeate the American people until this war ends in complete victory for the forces of light over the forces of darkness; for liberty and democracy over despotism and totali-

tarianism. There is no room for any form of disloyalty anywhere under the protecting folds of Old Glory. As General Dix said more than four score years ago, "If anyone attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." In the language immortalized by one of my illustrious predecessors in the House, the beloved Joe C. S. Blackburn, for years the Prince Rupert of debate in this and the other body:

He who dallies is a dastard; he who doubts is damned.

Mr. FLANNAGAN. Mr. Speaker, from now on December 7, 1941, will be known on the calendar of the world as Black Sunday and on the calendar of Japan as the day of its unpardonable transgression.

There is something wrong with a civilization that can produce leaders who, while yet professing peace and a disposition to adjust grievances, commit inhuman, stealthy, dastardly, cowardly acts, such as the Government of Japan visited upon our country on December 7, 1941.

That civilization must perish. There can be no lasting peace so long as such a civilization occupies even a small part of the world. And, Mr. Speaker, that civilization, by the avenging hand of a just God, acting through 130,000,000 American freemen, will perish. Yes, my colleagues, mark my words, December 7, 1941, will be avenged. It will mark the beginning of the end of Japanese civilization based upon stealth, treachery, and deceit.

The whole picture is now clear. Yesterday we were so dazed and shocked by its swiftness, its stealth, its inhumanity that our minds became stunned and cloudy. It was hard for us to realize that such a thing could happen in a civilized world. Today we see clearly that they lured us on by words of peace, by misleading statements, in order to create an opportunity to stab us in the back. On some tomorrow of the future we will again talk peace with Japan, and when we do we will remember December 7, 1941, and the Japanese people will then begin to realize that the blackness of that Sunday will not out, because we will write into that treaty terms that will live on down through the ages to curb such a people from ever again committing stealthy, vicious, dastardly acts against a peace-loving nation.

Today, December 8, 1941, with a swiftness and unanimity never before witnessed in this Republic, we have answered the challenge thrown out to us by this leprous, treacherous, pagan nation. The President asked the Congress to declare that a state of war existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire and the Congress, like true American freemen, unhesitatingly, and without delay, responded to that request.

And so we are at war, declared in a constitutional way by the Congress of the United States. While we hate war, while this war is not of our choosing, remember we have made our decision and it is now our war and if it is won we have got to do the winning.

The time for talk and bickering and controversy has ended. Action, concerted, unified action, is now the order of the day. To arms, to arms, every man to his task, working and fighting in unity and harmony. That is the price of victory. The slacker will not be tolerated in mill, factory, store, mine, field, office, or home any more than he will be tolerated upon the field of armed conflict. The battlefield now covers not only those places where the roar of the cannon and the zooming of the plane may be heard, but every mill, factory, store, mine, field, office, and home in this Republic. Every man, whether he uses a pen or pick, hammer or plow, is now in the service.

Mr. Speaker, our Republic is safe because we are united and have the will to win. I do not think I ever saw such a transformation. But yesterday we were arguing and bickering and in our national anthem there were a few dissonant sounds; today, thank God, we are together, united, and can sing anything from Yankee Doodle to Dixie without a single discord. Yes; we have unity, the will to win, and a just God, in whom we trust, will give us the victory.

The idea of March once brought a ruthless, ambitious, imperialistic emperor to his death, and marked the beginning of the end of a great empire that had outlived its usefulness.

The 7th of December portends the setting of the Empire of the Rising Sun. May American valor and courage, under the direction of a just God, speed the setting.

Americans, remember December 7, 1941.

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has been sneakily assaulted by a coward, stabbed in the back in total abandonment of national honor; yes, struck from behind in the fashion of a serpent by the Empire of Japan.

The property of the United States has been destroyed and the blood of American youth drawn and deposited in the soil of the islands of the Pacific while loving mothers were in peace in homes and churches amid the civilization wrought by the blood of the forefathers of those whose lives were stolen yesterday by the most dastardly attack ever executed by a nation in a civilized age.

Running true to form, the Empire of Japan pursued what she termed negotiations looking to permanent peace between the two Governments while she was preparing her full plans for and during the execution of her attack. No government or man has ever committed a more abandoned outrage. It was an act of stealing the blood of innocent people while their confidence was maintained by declarations of friendship made for the vicious and treacherous purpose of catching them off guard.

A nation so devoid of character must not live; it is destined to perish, yes, perish before the might and power of the people she so unjustly attacked.

This Congress is going to vote for the resolution and make a formal declaration of war against the Empire of Japan. The armed forces of the United States and the people of the United States, with hearts of love for freedom of man, and

souls of courage with the strength of steel, are going to crush that Nation and make her pay for property with property, and for blood with blood. He that will live by the sword must die by the sword, and I say to the American people on this crucial day when sorrow envelops our emotional existence, that Japan and her people will pay in blood one-hundredfold for the innocent blood they stole on yesterday.

The courage and determination of a unified people, and thank God for the unity in this House today, will take back to Japan and her people the terror she visited on us yesterday and make her cry aloud for the peace of a Sabbath she shattered with gunfire by the exercise of an unprecedented treachery.

I call on the people of these United States in this dark hour of our national life for unity in thought, purpose, and determination, and for the support of our President and Commander in Chief of our armed forces, in prayer and action, that the right of man to live in a state of freedom and justice may not perish before the forces of cowards who do not feel the impulses of honor.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, at this time I can best express my thoughts in the words of Stephen Decatur:

Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong.

We have done our best to avoid this war with Japan. Now she has asked for it. The only thing we can do is let her have it. By that I mean complete destruction of her war machine. Let us hope and pray that a minimum number of lives will be lost. Let us all work together and each do our part. There must be no politics. United we stand; otherwise we fall. We can and will win.

Mr. REED of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has been struck an insidious, dishonorable, and cowardly blow directed against our fleet, our territory, and our citizens. The perpetrators will find that they have affronted a powerful foe. They will learn that when people accustomed to freedom are assailed they support their Government with every ounce of their strength and endurance. They will find the American people united in a determination to avenge a foul crime and exterminate a foul criminal. There is no disunion in America. The vote on the pending resolution will demonstrate to the world that our President has behind him a united Congress backed by a united public. America aroused will hesitate not an instant and will never rest until the world is rid of the monsters who planned and executed yesterday's dastardly outrage. Japan will rue the day that the fury of peaceful, liberty-loving people was unleashed.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote, and on that I demand the yeas and nays.

Miss RANKIN of Montana. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts demands the yeas and nays. Those who favor taking this vote by the yeas and nays will rise and remain standing until counted.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Miss RANKIN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I would like to be heard.

The SPEAKER. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The question is, Will the House suspend the rules and pass the resolution?

Miss RANKIN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER. A roll call may not be interrupted.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 388, nays 1, not voting 41, as follows:

[Roll No. 130]

YEAS—388

Allen, Ill.	Davis, Ohio	Hobbs
Allen, La.	Davis, Tenn.	Hoffman
Andersen,	Day	Holbrook
H. Carl.	Delaney	Holmes
Anderson, Calif.	Dewey	Hook
Anderson,	Dies	Hope
N. Mex.	Dingell	Houston
Andresen,	Dirksen	Howell
August H.	Disley	Hull
Andrews	Ditter	Hunter
Angell	Domengeaux	Imhoff
Arends	Dondero	Izac
Arnold	Doughton	Jacobsen
Barden	Douglas	Jarman
Barnes	Downs	Jarrett
Barry	Drewry	Jenkins, Ohio
Bates, Ky.	Duncan	Jenks, N. H.
Bates, Mass.	Durham	Jennings
Baumhart	Dworschak	Jensen
Beam	Eaton	Johns
Beckworth	Eberhart	Johnson, Ill.
Beiter	Edmiston	Johnson, Ind.
Bender	Ellot, Mass.	Johnson,
Bishop	Elliott, Calif.	Luther A.
Blackney	Elston	Johnson,
Bland	Engel	Lyndon B.
Bloom	Englebright	Johnson, Okla.
Boehne	Faddis	Johnson, W. Va.
Boggs	Fellows	Jones
Boland	Fenton	Jonkman
Bolton	Fish	Kean
Bonner	Fitzgerald	Kee
Boren	Fitzpatrick	Keefe
Boykin	Flaherty	Kefauver
Bradley, Mich.	Flannagan	Kelley, Pa.
Bradley, Pa.	Flannery	Kelly, Ill.
Brooks	Fogarty	Kennedy,
Brown, Ga.	Folger	Martin J.
Brown, Ohio	Forand	Kennedy,
Bryson	Ford, Miss.	Michael J.
Buck	Ford, Thomas F.	Keogh
Buckley, N. Y.	Fulmer	Kerr
Bulwinkle	Gamble	Kilburn
Burch	Gathings	Kilday
Burdick	Gavagan	Kinzer
Burgin	Gearhart	Kirwan
Butler	Gehrman	Kleberg
Byrne	Gerlach	Klein
Byron	Gibson	Knutson
Camp	Gillie	Kocalkowski
Canfield	Gifford	Kopplemann
Cannon, Fla.	Gilchrist	Kramer
Cannon, Mo.	Gillette	Kunkel
Capozzoli	Gore	Lambertson
Carlson	Gossett	Landis
Case, S. Dak.	Graham	Lanham
Casey, Mass.	Granger	Lea
Celcer	Grant, Ala.	Leavy
Chapman	Grant, Ind.	LeCompte
Chipfield	Green	Lesinski
Clark	Guyer	Lewis
Clason	Gwynne	Ludlow
Claypool	Haines	Lynch
Clevenger	Hall,	McCormack
Cluett	Edwin Arthur	McGehee
Cochran	Hall,	McGranery
Coffee, Nebr.	Leonard W.	McGregor
Coffee, Wash.	Halleck	McKeough
Cole, Md.	Hancock	McLaughlin
Collins	Hare	McLean
Colmer	Harness	McMillan
Cooley	Harrington	Maciejewski
Cooper	Harris, Ark.	Maciora
Cope and	Harris, Va.	Mahon
Courtney	Eart	Manasco
Cox	Harter	Marcantonio
Cravens	Hartley	Martin, Iowa
Crawford	Healey	Martin, Mass.
Creal	Hsbert	Mason
Crosser	Heffernan	May
Crowther	Heidinger	Merritt
Cutkin	Hendricks	Meyer, Md.
Cunningham	Hess	Michener
Curtis	Hill, Wash.	Mills, Ark.
D'Alesandro	Hinshaw	Mitchell

Monroney	Rivers	Summers, Tex.
Moser	Rizley	Sutphin
Mott	Robertson,	Sweeney
Mundt	N. Dak.	Taber
Murray	Robertson Va.	Talle
Myers, Pa.	Robison, Ky.	Tarver
Nichols	Rockefeller	Tenerowicz
Norrell	Rodgers, Pa.	Terry
Norton	Rogers, Mass.	Thom
O'Brien, Mich.	Russell	Thomas, N. J.
O'Brien, N. Y.	Sabath	Thomas, Tex.
O'Connor	Sacks	Thomason
O'Hara	Sanders	Tibbott
O'Leary	Sasser	Tinkham
Oliver	Satterfield	Traynor
O'Neal	Sauthoff	Treadway
Osmers	Scanlon	Van Zandt
O'Toole	Schuetz	Vinson, Ga.
Pace	Schulte	Voorhis, Calif.
Paddock	Scott	Vorys, Ohio
Patman	Secrest	Vreeland
Patrick	Shafer Mich.	Wadsworth
Patton	Shanley	Ward
Pearson	Shannon	Wasielewski
Peterson, Fla.	Sheppard	Weaver
Peterson, Ga.	Sheridan	Weiss
Pfeifer,	Short	Wene
Joseph L.	Sikes	West
Pheiffer,	Simpson	Wheat
William T.	Smith, Maine	Whelchel
Pierce	Smith, Ohio	Whitten
Pittenger	Smith, Pa.	Whittington
Plauché	Smith, Va.	Wickersham
Ploeser	Smith, Wash.	Wigglesworth
Plumley	Smith, W. Va.	Williams
Poage	Smith, Wis.	Wilson
Powers	Snyder	Winter
Priest	Somers, N. Y.	Wolcott
Rabaut	South	Wolfenden, Pa.
Ramsay	Sparkman	Wolverton, N. J.
Ramspeck	Spence	Woodruff, Mich.
Randolph	Springer	Woodrum, Va.
Rankin, Miss.	Starnes, Ala.	Worley
Reece, Tenn.	Stearns, N. H.	Wright
Reed, Ill.	Stefan	Young
Reed, N. Y.	Stevenson	Youngdahl
Rees, Kans.	Stratton	Zimmerman
Rich	Sullivan	
Richards	Sumner, Ill.	

NAYS—1

Rankin, Mont.
NOT VOTING—41

Baldwin	Gregory	Robinson, Utah
Bell	Hill, Colo.	Rogers, Okla.
Bennett	Jackson	Rolph
Buckler, Minn.	Johnson, Calif.	Romjue
Carter	Larrabee	Schaefer, Ill.
Cartwright	McArdle	Scrugham
Chenoweth	McIntyre	Steagall
Cole, N. Y.	Maas	Thill
Costello	Magnuson	Tolan
Cullen	Mansfield	Vincent, Ky.
Dickstein	Mills, La.	Walter
Ellis	Murdock	Welch
Ford, Leland M.	Nelson	White
Gale	O'Day	

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended, and the joint resolution was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a joint resolution (S. J. Res. 116) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same, in which the concurrence of the House is requested.

GENERAL EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may be permitted to extend their own remarks on the resolution just acted upon immediately prior to the roll call.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will that permit one to include in his remarks a telegram from a colleague showing how he would have voted?

The SPEAKER. His own remarks only. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, a number of Members are unavoidably absent and on their way here. I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their own remarks on the resolution just adopted.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

DECLARATION OF WAR

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table Senate Joint Resolution 116, and agree to the same.

The Clerk read the Senate joint resolution, as follows:

Whereas the Imperial Government of Japan has committed unprovoked acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and the President is hereby authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial Government of Japan; and, to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and, of course, I am not going to object—this is the same declaration that we just passed?

The SPEAKER. The same.

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

The Senate joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings by which the House passed House Joint Resolution 254 be vacated and that the resolution be laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUSINESS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order tomorrow for the Speaker to recognize Members for call of bills on the District of Columbia Calendar.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, due to the fact that a cordon of police and soldiers was thrown around the Capitol Grounds, thereby preventing the taxicab in which I was riding to come within several squares of the House, I reached the floor of the House a few minutes after the roll call on the resolution declaring the existence of a state of war between our Nation and Japan. If I had not been delayed as aforesaid, I would have voted for the resolution.

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Speaker, I missed the vote today against Japan. Yesterday afternoon I left Washington and drove straight through to Knoxville, Tenn., arriving there at 2:30 this morning without knowing that the Speaker had requested that all Members return immediately. At 7:10 this morning I heard the announcement and began at once a frantic effort to find airplane transportation. After calling Speaker RAYBURN twice from Knoxville I chartered a plane but could not get it off the ground because of Civil Aeronautics Authority orders to ground all civilian pilots. At 10:05 we got clearance, and although we made it in less than 3 hours the vote on the declaration of war against Japan was completed before I could get to the House Chamber. That is how fast democracy works once it is severely shaken.

Before leaving Knoxville I wired the pair Clerk of the House of Representatives, as follows:

Vote me "for" on any declaration of war against Japan and the Axis Powers. Am going to try to make it for the vote. Am chartering plane and leaving here now.

I want it understood that had I arrived a few minutes earlier I would have voted for the resolution.

At this point I want to recall a 1-minute speech which I made on the House floor on Monday, May 5, and which appears in the RECORD of that date at page 3647. I quote it here in full:

JAPAN AND THE AXIS

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Speaker, today's papers carry the headlines quoting Hitler, "We can beat the world." The same papers carry Foreign Minister Matsuoka's insult to the United States by inviting our President to come over and see "the true intentions of Japan."

I believe there is at least a 50-50 chance we are headed for deadly combat with Hitler. In that event Japan is pledged to stab us in the back. We know Japan's true intentions from Manchuria, China, and the Panay.

I am ready to give Japan 1 week to withdraw from the Axis, from China, and all Asia. Upon her failure to do that, we should begin at once the process of polishing her into insignificance. [Applause.]

That was more than 7 months ago. Had we taken the initiative then to do the very thing which we must now do defensively, it would have saved many warships and many planes and many lives.

Japan has jabbed a dagger in our back and we must now rise as one to the heights to which we are capable and crush her as she has never been crushed before.

And what is just as important is that after this war we must be a little more realistic and a little less idealistic and see to it that Japan is never able again to do what she has done.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, due to unforeseen and unavoidable circumstances—weather conditions which delayed the plane I took to Washington—I was unable to reach the Capitol in time to be recorded on the vote on the declaration of war. I want to state for the record that I would have voted "aye" had I been present.

Japan's assault upon our bases in Hawaii and other possessions while her duly accredited representatives were negotiating with our Government will go down in history as one of the most despicable acts committed by any government. I have no doubts that Japan will reap the reward such action deserves.

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me by the House upon request of the majority leader, I want to make this statement:

This has been a sad and thrilling day for me. I left the bedside of my wife, who is ill at our home in Kentucky, and flew here today by airplane and reached the door of the House just as the vote was completed. I failed to make it by about 1 minute.

At Cincinnati, Ohio, I was joined by the gentleman from California, Congressman JOHN COSTELLO, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman JOSEPH MCARDLE. We reached the airport here at 1:15 p. m., which is about 20 minutes ahead of schedule. We were met there by two motorcycle policemen, and they cleared the road of traffic and led the way to the Capitol. I want to congratulate them on the fine work they did.

I was shocked at the cowardly act of the Japanese, who struck at our forces without warning. Of course, I regret that I failed to reach the House in time to vote, but I am happy that my vote was not needed.

I am sure our Navy is able to handle the situation. The Naval Affairs Committee meets at 10 a. m. tomorrow, and we are putting the finishing touches to some matters that I think will make our armed forces more effective.

The House is to be congratulated on its action today, as the vote shows that we are a united people, and that we are ready to defend ourselves. We have the finest Fleet in the world, and I am certain it will punish severely the cowardly murderers who attacked our unsuspecting people. I have no doubt as to the outcome. I think we are prepared for this fight, and I know our boys will take full revenge for this dastardly act.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Speaker, during the past few days I have been attending public lands hearings with an official congressional committee, in the city of San Francisco and today I sent this wire to the House of Representatives:

Greatly regret inability to attend momentous session today because of distance; on official congressional business. I am very determined America must meet Japanese challenge to utter destruction of Asiatic war lords.

JOHN R. MURDOCK,
Member of Congress.

On Saturday, November 22, a little more than 2 weeks ago today, I reported to my people in Arizona, as follows:

In regard to the Japanese situation I believe there is a much sterner attitude shown by Members of Congress. A number of my colleagues have shown great indignation that we have appeased Japan as much as we have, and that we have furnished Japan oil and scrap material by which she has carried on her war against China during these years, and some of these same men declare openly that in spite of the kindly feeling of the Japanese people toward us, there can be no peace in the Pacific part of the world until the war lords of Japan are knocked about the ears and destroyed. A Member who has been least war-minded with regard to Europe said to me just recently, "Before we do another thing we ought to destroy the Japanese Fleet."

I haven't time to elaborate on these, but in this connection I do recall that it was Japan who flouted the naval limitation agreement of 1922, and who threw overboard the 5-5-3 naval arrangement which they had solemnly agreed to, and I'd be willing to bet any number of hats that the Japs have been building 45,000-ton battleships, while the rest of the world was supposed to be limited to 35,000-ton battleships. The war lords of Japan apparently have a superdose of that racial superiority complex as "sons of heaven," which may have to be eliminated before they can be lived with, in a world as small as this has come to be.

Mr. MCARDLE. Mr. Speaker, my absence today when the House voted on the resolution to declare war on the Government of Japan was due solely to my inability to reach Washington in time for that vote.

Being assured by the leadership of the House there was no important legislation coming up, I decided to take a few days' rest. I went to Florida. It was not until late Sunday that I learned of the unwarranted attack on our ships and shore stations by Japan. As quick as I could arrange transportation I left for Washington. I arrived at 1:20 Monday. The House vote on the war resolution I found was announced at 1:27.

Mr. Speaker, I want the RECORD to show that if I had been present I would have voted for the declaration of war. Further, I want to say that so long as I am a Member of Congress during this emergency I will support the recommendations of the President of the United States, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and I know that in the end this country will destroy those who have murdered our soldiers and sailors, as well as civilians, at a time when their representatives were conferring with the President and Secretary of State, who sought peace with the Government of Japan.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a brief announcement that it is the intention tomorrow to bring up the business that was scheduled for consideration today.

SPEAKER AUTHORIZED TO SIGN SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 116

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the adjournment of the House the Speaker may be authorized to sign the enrolled Senate Joint Resolution 116.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Massachusetts advise us whether bills on the Private Calendar will be called tomorrow?

Mr. McCORMACK. It is hoped they will be. If not, we will try to make arrangements to call them up on Wednesday.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted, as follows:

To Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky (at the request of Mr. CHAPMAN), on account of illness.

To Mr. GREGORY (at the request of Mr. CHAPMAN), on account of illness.

To Mrs. NORTON, for an indefinite period, on account of illness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KOPPLEMANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a statement relating to the matter passed today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. KOPPLEMANN]?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 31 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, December 9, 1941, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

The meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce scheduled for Tuesday, December 9, 1941, has been postponed until next January.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

There will be a meeting of this committee at 10:30 a. m. Tuesday, December 9, 1941, on unfinished business and private bills.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

There will be a meeting of the committee at 10 a. m. Tuesday, December 9, for consideration of H. R. 6135.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1121. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed amendatory legislation that is needed in connection with the settlement of damage claims and the acquisition of easement rights in connection with the operation of the Fort Hall Indian irrigation project, Fort Hall, Idaho; to the Committee on Claims.

1122. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to further amend the act approved June 23, 1938 (52 Stat. 944), as amended; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. R. 6189. A bill to amend section 1601 (a) (1) of the Internal Revenue Code (relating to credits against the Federal unemployment tax); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SHERIDAN:

H. R. 6190. A bill to provide identification badges for Senators, Representatives, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 6191. A bill to provide for the extension of enlistments in the Navy in time of war, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

2127. By Mr. COFFEE of Washington: Resolution of Washington State Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, William J. Bain, president, and John T. Jacobsen, secretary, Seattle, Wash., alleging that Supply, Priorities, and Allocations Board rulings prohibit use of critical material in nondefense areas for all construction not related to defense work or the health and safety of the public; averring that such ruling threatens and deprives millions of workers, skilled and unskilled, of employment in the building industry; asserting that such critical materials as are required for normal construction constitute but a small percentage of the total; declaring that Supply, Priorities, and Allocations Board rulings of October 10, 1941, have inspired hoarding, deception, and cheating; asserting that patriotism and national unity is receiving a telling blow through such rulings; and, therefore, concluding that all congressional Representatives from the Western States be urged to investigate and make a report through appropriate committees on the proper distribution of production of critical materials; that if the committee's investigation should justify it, the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board should be ordered to allocate a reasonable percentage of the critical materials for private construction; stating that the findings and conclusions of aforesaid resolution have been concurred in by chapters of the American Institute of Architects of Oregon, Spokane, Utah, Colorado, and Montana; to the Committee on Rules.

2128. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of the United Irish-American Societies of New York, concerning the St. Lawrence waterway project; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2129. By Mr. KRAMER: Petition of the State advisory committee of the National Youth Administration for California, objecting to the proposal that appropriations for the National Youth Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps in California be reduced; to the Committee on Appropriations.

2130. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Propeller Club of the United States, fifteenth annual convention, San Francisco, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to adjustment of pay and allowances for Coast Guard service; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

2131. Also, petition of the American Association of Port Authorities, New Orleans, La., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Senate bill 1539, relative to the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

2132. Also, petition of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Silver Springs, Md., petitioning consideration of

their resolution with reference to labor strikes in essential defense industries; to the Committee on Labor.

2133. Also, petition of the United Aircraft Welders of America, Los Angeles, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to strikes or labor disturbances; to the Committee on Labor.

2134. Also, petition of the Regular Veterans Association, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House bill 6009; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

2135. Also, petition of the Patriotic Order of America, Camden, N. J., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House bill 1410; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2136. Also, petition of the Junior O. U. A. M., Hempstead, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House bill 1410; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1941

The Very Reverend ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., Chaplain of the Senate, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Maker of all things, Judge of all men, who knowest our necessities before we ask and our ignorance in asking: Guide Thou our thoughts, we beseech Thee, and direct our way through the gathering shadows into the light of a clearer understanding of Thy purpose for each one of us, that we may, with prompt hand and cheerful heart, do only such things as shall please Thee, as we consecrate ourselves anew to the service of our country.

Help us that we miss not the divine end of life, but inherit more the blessings of Thy discipline; out of Thine eternity calm the dispositions of our souls, as we feel the weight of these troublous times, that we may live bravely, patiently, and with ever increasing faith in the ultimate triumph of righteousness in the world of men and of nations. And so unto Thy gracious keeping we commit ourselves this day, and do Thou use each one of us just as Thou wilt, and when and where. We ask it in our Saviour's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, December 8, 1941, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF A JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, who also announced that on December 8, 1941, at 4:10 p. m., eastern standard time, the President approved and signed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 116) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. HILL. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	George	O'Daniel
Andrews	Gerry	O'Mahoney
Austin	Gillette	Overton
Bailey	Glass	Pepper
Ball	Green	Radcliffe
Bankhead	Guffey	Reed
Barbour	Gurney	Reynolds
Barkley	Hatch	Rosier
Bilbo	Herring	Russell
Brewster	Hill	Schwartz
Bridges	Holman	Shipstead
Brooks	Hughes	Smathers
Brown	Johnson, Calif.	Smith
Bulow	Johnson, Colo.	Spencer
Bunker	Kilgore	Stewart
Burton	La Follette	Taft
Butler	Langer	Thomas, Okla.
Byrd	Lee	Thomas, Utah
Capper	Lodge	Tooley
Caraway	Lucas	Truman
Chandler	McFarland	Tunnell
Chavez	McKellar	Tydings
Clark, Idaho	McNary	Vandenberg
Clark, Mo.	Maloney	Van Nuys
Connally	Maybank	Wagner
Danaher	Mead	Wallgren
Davis	Murdock	Walsh
Downey	Murray	White
Doxey	Norris	Wiley
Ellender	Nye	Willis

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE] is absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] are detained on official business.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] is necessarily absent.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS] is absent because of a death in his family.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Ninety Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

PERSONAL STATEMENT BY SENATOR CAPPER

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, when the news of Japan's attack was flashed to our people I was in Kansas. I started for Washington as quickly as possible, but regret I could not reach here in time to cast my vote for approval of the President's stand. I would have voted for Senate Joint Resolution 116, introduced by the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], if it had been possible for me to reach the Senate in time.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter I have addressed to the President informing him of my whole-hearted support of his program and also advising him that the people of Kansas are unitedly behind him.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 9, 1941.
HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have just returned from Kansas, and am glad to assure you that the people of the State are united in support of your stand in the war with Japan. They believe this attack was inspired by Hitler. They feel that you were fully justified in asking Congress to declare a state of war between Japan and the United States. It is a matter of great regret to me that I was unable to reach Washington in time to